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EXPOSITION

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OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OF

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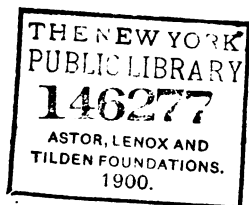
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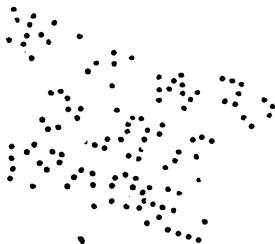
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PREFACE.



The opportunities of forming an opinion, and the qualifications of judging correctly of this Government, which the Author of this treatise has had, are such that nothing is wanting to aid him that can depend on facts and observation. He stands identified with it from its very foundation. He was born and educated in the country ; has the experience of seventy years ; and has held offices both in the Judicial, Legislative and Executive parts thereof. He acted, moreover, during thirty years of his life, with the Jeffersonian Democracy of the country, and changed his views and principles from the convictions of experience only.

He has now no interest in any Office or Department of the Government, except that of Citizenship. He has a family of children and grand-children, whose destinies lie in the country, and run with it. He has no mortifications, or disappointments connected with, or growing out of any acts or duties in relation to this Government. He is now retired ; asks for no office ; and he trusts without prejudice. His best wishes run with its Government : and his only anxieties relate to its future existence and usefulness.

He declares, also, that he entertained a strong hatred for England through most of his life: despised her arrogance: the costly machinery of her comparatively free Government, and her insulting pretensions. He has a contempt for French impulse and fickleness: for German dulness: Spanish corruption: Italian degradation, and Russian despotism. He feels therefore free from bias: free from prejudice: and if he errs, it will be in judgment, not intention. He is a slave-owner: has seen the operation of that scourge of society, and felt its influence.

He hopes, therefore, that the within remarks on the Government of these United States, will be regarded as the result of observation and experience, and for the benefit of mankind.

AN EXPOSITION
OF THE
**WEAKNESS AND INEFFICIENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.**

CHAPTER I.

IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA A GOOD AND DESIRABLE ONE? DOES IT ANSWER THE PURPOSES INTENDED? DOES IT GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY? AND WILL IT ENDURE OR LONG CONTINUE TO EXIST? AND IF NOT, WHAT ARE ITS DEFECTS?

The enquiry embraced in the above propositions is important in itself from the very nature of the subject; doubly important from the fact, that the whole civilized world regard it with deep and intense interest: and still more important, because the best hopes of the human family are in some manner connected with it.

As soon as this new nucleus of Liberty and Self-Government sprung up in the West, remote from the thralls and turmoils of the old world, all mankind turned their attention to it, and regarded it with deep and thrilling interest. The humane, the disinterested, and the benevolent rejoiced to see the principles of Liberty and self-government about to be established under fair auspices, and in a way to test the practicability of their independent existence. The aristocracy and the privileged, saw in the success of these principles the prostration of all their hopes and monopolies. The mean and sordid shrank

from the experiment as one calculated to sink them till lower in the scale of humanity. The religious feared that licentiousness might impair the good order and morality of society, unless stayed by the strong arm of Government. And Philosophers saw that a failure of this young hope of Liberty, would throw back indefinitely the great cause of human happiness and exaltation ; and fix in the minds of man the degrading absurdity, that the many were made for the few ; and man, the noblest work of God, incapable of self-control and self-government.

As all this interest was felt, all this anxiety manifested, all these consequences, and all this importance naturally attached to the subject, it is worth while, therefore, to look closely at the progress of the experiment, examine carefully and impartially the present condition of this Government, and ascertain how far the best hopes of man have been realized, or their fallure established ; and bring into light and notice the great agents that have perfected the structure, or that are destined to lay it prostrate.

Let us not shrink from the enquiry. Its importance demands it, and our duty to mankind in general and our own country in particular calls for it. We will therefore boldly enquire into the circumstances of this government, the causes or defects that threaten its existence, and the remedies positive and preventive, if any, that might save and support it. And first, what are its defects?

CHAPTER II.

I assert that the Government of the United States of North America is extremely defective, and carries in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction. Let us enumerate some of the most glaring defects and the most active and certain causes of her failure.

FIRST. The greatest defect in the structure of this government, and the most sure to operate her ruin, is her Federative form : the fruitful source of the many evils that beset her, and of the false feelings and acts that invade her.

History, that instructs us from the dicta of experience only, informs us, that no Confederations ever existed long at a time, and that they are mostly kept together, whilst they do endure, by some factitious circumstances : either an outward pressure fearful enough to countervail and stifle those jealousies and self-interested feelings that tend to destroy the cohesion, or some overweening religious enthusiasm that throws the members into each other's arms ; which is generally short-lived and fades away under its own intensity.

JEWS.

The oldest federative government we read of, was that of the Jewish Tribes, which, although organized under the eye of high Heaven, and claiming to be guarantied by the will and dicta of God, soon tumbled to pieces, and formed two contemptible kingdoms. This was the result of mutual jealousies, maturing into active violence, and becoming too

reckless in their elements for even the strong outward pressure of Assyrian and Egyptian power to counteract and prevent. The sanctified code of laws imposed by Moses, derived from the wisdom of Egypt, and seemingly ratified by God himself, availed them nought against civil discord, or stayed for a moment impending ruin. The acknowledged justice of the Judges of Israel, aided by her inspired prophets and divines, could not prevent civil war, or save them from certain disunion. They were broken up, colonized, and stand yet a living monument of folly and discord, even scattered as they are to the four winds.

PHŒNICIANS.

The Phœnician confederacy was coeval with or even older than that of the Jews. Their jealousies and distractions lie so far back, that History knows but little of them. Their two commercial points, Tyre and Sidon, after growing rich in commerce and the arts, long contended against each other in such deadly feuds and unrelenting wars, that their territories which lay back in Palestine, being totally neglected, fell an easy prey to the famished Jews, who, driven from Egypt, approached them; and the rich plains of Damascus, their very granary, set up a new government called Syria. This deadly struggle continued between these two towns until Alexander, tempted by their treasures, put his foot upon their last strong-holds and forever extinguished them.

There would in all probability have been no Syrian Government, no Jerusalem or kingdoms of Judea and Samaria, had these early civilized, intelligent, commercial and rich people been true to them-

selves, been under a good concentrated government, that would have directed their resources against their enemies, and secured safety to their citizens. The world was deeply indebted to the Phœnicians: drew from them letters, the arts, that commerce that has ever since not only whitened with its sails the Mediterranean, but even covered the wider oceans.

Had the Phœnicians been a unit in Government, combined liberty with the proper guaranties of persons and property, established order and efficiency, they would have been a centre of civilization, an example for all the East. They would have prevented the existence of the despotic and turbulent governments of Syria, Judea, and even Babylon; that, steeped in the darkest superstitions, as well as clothed in the most despotic power, postponed for many centuries the advance of liberty, civilization, and the proper condition of man. She would, also, have spread her mantle over all the coasts of the Mediterranean and Europe, and planted not only her standard of commerce in Italy, Carthage and Mersailles, but the arts and letters in a way much more available than history relates.

GREECE.

Greece next presents a confederation seemingly amalgamated by the same language, the same religion and interests. She promised great strength and action, and for a short time did exert uncommon elasticity against the huge pressure of Persia. As soon as this pressure was removed, and wealth, the arts, and luxuries flowed in upon her, this famous confederacy tumbled to pieces. Mutual jealousies led to exterminating civil wars, and the

towering ambition of some individuals and States closed the scene. She, weakened, became a subjugated colony or province, and nothing of her greatness now exists, save some precious monuments of her arts, refined taste, and a compendium of her noble thoughts and deeds, expressed in the few books of her poets and historians that are handed down to us, and that form the nucleus of our noblest thoughts and principles.

The brilliancy she acquired in her wars, and the wealth that her commerce poured into her coffers during her confederacy, only made her a more conspicuous mark for the surrounding nations, and presented a rich bait for her own less refined, poorer and less luxurious members to grasp at. She perished by her own hands, and left the world to Macedonian rapacity, and finally to Roman despotism. She stood a lighted beacon on the head-land of civilization; her blaze of light, nursed by her own deep fount of patriotism until self-consumed, and then all was dark. Had Greece with her cultivation and intelligence, and her devotion to liberty, stood organized as a unit or single government, capable of exerting a united force for the suppression of disorder at home and invasions from abroad, she would have continued the great monitress of all the world. She would have softened down the stern liberties of Rome, that corroded the very vitals of that iron republic; and she would have established an order of things in Europe that might have saved it all those centuries of darkness, and monkish superstition, through which liberty, the arts and civilization had to grope their way to new light and footing.

ITALIAN STATES.

The fall of Rome was followed in Italy by numerous small duchies or principalities, that did in some way form a confederation. They soon grew jealous of each other, and from the Sicilies to Lombardy presented a series of disorders that almost destroyed all vestiges of Roman art and greatness. These disorders were the more scathing, because northern barbarians gave the impulse, and a gloomy monastic religion stalked through the land and guided their hands. They were puppets only in the hands of the Pope and German Emperors,—a chess-board played upon by these high pretenders to all power and religion, with all the gravity and skill incident to that noble game. The very ruins of Roman greatness that looked down upon their huts and rude tents, mocked their degradation, and showed how much below even contempt they had sunk. Fortunately the dark ages held its mantle over them, and but little of their sad lesson is known.

HEPTARCHY.

The Saxon Heptarchy also existed in the dark ages of Europe. It scarcely deserves the name of a confederation. Combined but for a moment against the Dane and Norman, they sunk back into wars and discords; until one more fierce, aided by circumstances, swallowed all up into one kingdom; and the great meetings in council of her wise men, became merged into the nominal parliament, that was nothing but a minion of the early kings that succeeded.

THE PROVINCES OF FRANCE.

The Provinces of France never amounted to a confederation. They preferred wars waged upon one another and foreign alliances to the Belle Francais; and the Edwards and Henrys of England to their own Louis' and Philips. If France had at an early day been and remained a united kingdom; if she had kept the domain of Charlemagne unbroken as to France; had caught the mantle of Roman arts, letters and civilization, as it fell from the enervated hands of that people, with her central situation, she would have exerted a controlling influence on Europe. She would have dissipated those clouds that formed the dark ages; liberalized monkish austerity; planted the lights of science and liberal principles too firmly to be prostrated and extinguished, and stood ready to vindicate the cause of man. She would have kept the Saracens from contaminating her soil in all Europe. Provence commenced the good work, but was too weak to carry it on. She, too, became merged in the gloom of those ages.

SWISS CANTONS,

After the dark and leaden ages of Europe, Switzerland was the first Confederation that presents itself to History. She, nominally, continues yet; but by no inherent spring or source of vitality in her contemptible little governments, and exists now, as she ever has, by an outward pressure. The jealousy of the adjoining powers would not suffer her particles to disperse, even if she wished to do so. Those who hold the balance of might in Europe command her to continue her feeble existence,

and preserve order. These great mandates keep her quiet, and lay her to sleep in her own vallies. Insignificance has insured her this dependent and slavish perpetuity. She exerts no influence upon Europe, save through her examples of economy: and cannot be held up as a confederated Government that has preserved her existence through ages.

STATES OF HOLLAND.

A more important confederation was found in Holland. The States General threw themselves into each other's arms with a determined energy, when Spain threatened their religious liberty. They exerted great force against their oppressors, and the success attending it threw around them a halo of glory, that gained them friends and distinction. Their active commerce and consequent wealth, gave them great resources, and placed them not only high in the scale of nations, but enabled them to become patrons of the arts. As soon as they had conquered the Spaniard, and their own marshes, and seemed ready for a quiet enjoyment of their existence, those jealousies and dissensions ever attendant upon confederated Governments sprung up, and burned even in the cold heart of a Dutchman. They became so much weakened by these endless dissensions, that England and France put an end to the confederation, and forced them to take refuge in a kingly government, to save them from disorder and anarchy. These Batavian discords knew no compromise; they disregarded all outward pressure, all the policies of Europe, as well as their own interest, and preferred ruin to mutual concessions. They carried a vast burthen of debt to the house of Orange, and their

existence furthered liberty nothing, or availed aught to mankind.

GERMAN STATES.

There are no more confederations in Europe, unless we gather up the loose bonds of the German States, and show them off as such. The Electorates of early Germany were nominal confederations, continually shaken by the ambitious and foreign connections, and finally destroyed by Austria. The present German States form in like manner a nominal connection, and are controlled by Austria and Prussia. Their Diets do but record the decrees of these two potentates, and echo their wishes. Fortunately for these States, the two Governments of Austria and Prussia are liberal and paternal in their policies, and have done much to enlighten the mass of the people, to fix the administration of justice on an independent and just foundation, and to establish the intercommunications of commerce, as well as for the good order of society. *How a confederated State under Prussia, - 1875.*

CHAPTER III.

These historical views alluded to in the previous chapter, bring us back to our subject, the United States of North America. They have confederated in the teeth of these facts; in the very face of all historical experience. They rushed into each other's arms full of hopes and energies, under the high pressure of what they called English tyranny, and

like all young and ardent connections, were strong and successful at first.

During thirty or forty years, their pure and virgin love for each other, and for liberty, held on, inducing mutual sacrifices and forbearances, that kept the inward peace. Those loathings and disgusts, however, that ever attend confederations, and hasty or ill-suited connections, soon began to manifest themselves; and the spotless form of the union is now disregarded, polluted by the most unqualified abuses, and its value estimated, as they express it, in dollars and cents. Where so much reckless disregard of the confederation is felt and daily expressed; where the facts of history, plain enough to run and read, are totally unheeded, there must be some very active agents or causes of discord, some germs of destruction in their very organization to lead to this threatened disunion. Let us enquire what those very active causes are; whether inherent in the body politic, or superinduced by factitious circumstances? whether curable or not?

The first and greatest cause of the disunion of all political confederations, is found in the very nature of things: has its roots in the human heart, and never fails of its effects:—I mean selfishness; let me explain its mode of action: Why do we prefer ourselves to others? Why do we prefer our family and relations to all others? Why do we prefer our village, our town, our county, our district, our state, province or country to others? It is self-interest; that feeling that ever regards individuality; that spreads from ourselves as a centre; builds around this centre all its accumulations and hopes, and breathes thence all its aspirations. We stand iden-

tified with our family, our county, our state; feel for them; battle for them. On such fanes we lay all our offerings, and there make our greatest and most willing sacrifices. When any difficulty arises between us or our families and strangers; between our town and others, or our State and the Federal Government, we hesitate not, but espouse the quarrels of our family, the feelings or interests of our State, right or wrong, and stand ready to war for them to the hilt.

This very natural and innate feeling, therefore, with all the certainty of mathematics, will and does prefer the State we live in to the Federal Government, whenever any conflict arises between them. It stands ready to overleap mountains in support of the local feeling; and constitutional barriers go for nothing, are but burnt flax in its way. Not more than one in a thousand run out consequences, look forward to remote and distant advantages, and stand themselves on the proper grounds. Not more than one in a thousand appreciates the action, and leans on the protection of the Federal or central government, so far removed from them. On the above principle the great mass, the thousands, however, feel the government of the State that they stand identified with, understand its mode of action, enjoy its immediate protection, pitch all their ambition and aspirations upon its known power to serve them, and give to it all their sympathies and support. The thousands overlook great and distant good, that broad policy that embraces all, that unseen and unfelt power that is theoretical and distant as to them, which they approach through the States only, and which to cover, protect and foster their own inter-

ests, has to operate through the States. The first loves of the million are, in the nursery, to their families, to their districts or States, and do not, nor can they feel, love or appreciate what is outside or beyond. Hence, in all differences of interest, in all confliotions of power, they stand by their States' pretensions, and are ready to war upon the Federal or confederative government. When the Amphyctions made orders that aroused any Grecian State, did not all the citizens of that State oppose the general power? When a Province of France, a Canton of Switzerland, a Kingdom of the Heptarchy, or a State of Italy, or Holland was invaded or warred upon by the order of the central authority, did not every man of such part stick to his local government, and regard or obey his local feelings from choice? It is human nature. It is the nearest home feeling at work. It is the sure guarantee that the local government will be obeyed and built up in preference to the central, or Federal and remote power!!

Many of these confliotions begin to show themselves, and some have actually occurred where the above principle was made manifest. Some of the States, in the last war against England, refused the legitimate calls of the Federal Government for men and money; would neither levy the tax imposed by the Federal Government, nor draft for the military force required of them, but threw themselves on what they called their reserved rights, or sovereignty, particularly Massachusetts and Connecticut. They drew a cordon of safety around themselves, supported by their own State resources, as they chose to designate them. Georgia drove the Cherokee Indians from her border, or stood ready to do it, in total

1832

1861

1861 - 62

1812 - 13

disregard of sacred treaties entered into by the Federal Government with those Indians. South Carolina, with some noted men at its head, nullified the tariff acts of the Federal Congress, and actually stood ready to import goods in contravention thereto. Many other cases have occurred, or will soon occur, which will prove the utter weakness and inefficiency of the Federal or confederated Government, growing out of the many causes of disunion herein after enumerated, and prove, if further proof be wanted, that this *nearest home* feeling is ever active and uppermost. We will discuss these and other cases of confliction more fully in succeeding chapters.

Let us look a little closer at the character of the States, or members of this confederacy. Each State claims and is admitted to be sovereign. This sovereignty is not conferred or dependent upon others, but inherent. They associated into the confederacy as free, sovereign and independent governments. Their sovereignty is sacred, and not to be questioned. Many say that, like the partners in a mercantile concern, they formed their house and can dissolve it at pleasure; even any one member, say the nullifiers, can withdraw when it chooses. This sovereignty is thrown around the citizens within its jurisdiction; they are identified with it, and scarcely know or care for the Federal or created power.

Each State is not only a sovereign in name and assumption, but daily exercises all the attributes of sovereignty. It has a legislature of its own creation to make its laws, a judiciary to interpret and carry them into practice, and an executive to enforce them. It controls the currency by local banks and bills of credit, and can wage war in many cases,

and on all emergencies. 'Tis this mantle of power that covers and protects nearly all the rights and interests of the people. All the guaranties for the safety of property and persons grow out of this State sovereignty, and depend on it for their support. Is an individual arrested? a habeas corpus immediately issues from this authority to show cause and release. Scarcely one right or any privilege flows from the Federal power to the citizen, a power to him almost unknown, scarcely felt, and never looked up to for home protection.

It is through the medium of the local power generally, that the Federal Government can or does approach the individual, and then unless in a spirit of conciliation, or with offerings in its hand, or flattery and concession, is not acceptable, rarely recognized as having any right to act or order, and if not insulted, at least is not respected. The State stands always ready and organized; clothed in sovereign authority, with its shield of power uplifted; always jealous and vigilant, and can't be approached but as an equal, or in the spirit of concession by the Federal power. There is all the difference imaginable between a government appealing to, or acting upon or against an individual person standing alone and directly amenable, and one under a State power, protected by an organized sovereignty, and covered by this ever ready shield of power. In the one case the individual is orderly; chastens his words and actions, and feels responsible for all his deeds; in the other, is reckless, knows that he is supported by an acknowledged sovereignty, and that his acts, however reprehensible, are shared and judged of by this local power. He would be a good subject in

the one case, and a reckless or designing disorganizer in the other. The confederation, therefore, is a thing created, a thing distant, or foreign to the individual; an abstract being that may be used or defied as local interests dictate, and he who can most deceive or impose upon it, or cheat and defraud its revenues, or abuse its trusts, is the smartest fellow.

Whenever, therefore, a difference of construction or interest arises between the State or local sovereign and the Federal government, the citizens of the State, to a certainty, and on the above principle, side with the local or near-home power against the other; and the Constitution, let it speak plainly or dimly, goes for nothing in the heat of conflict. Should the State be regarded in the wrong, either by the other States, or so decided by the Federal Congress or Courts, still it perseveres in its construction, and nullifies, or stands ready to secede or do battle, and brandishes its shield of sovereignty against any act that would oppose or gainsay it. So sacred is the idea of a State's sovereignty, that it is now pretty certain, that the other States never could be induced or forced to act against it, no matter how flagrantly in the wrong.

We see therefore the deep rooted and wide spread influence of this local interest and feeling. That it has acted, stands always ready to act, is ever organized, and ever will act in all differences of the two powers. Speak not to me therefore of the many shining instances of individual patriotism and merit, they affect not the general result; are too few and far between to control much longer! Speak not to me of the great palladium, as it was once called, the Federal Constitution and compact! It goes for

nothing against this local feeling. This instrument has already, on many occasions, as I shall hereafter show, been construed diametrically opposite by different feelings and under different interests, in the excitement of party. It has been made or forced to support all the absurd, interested and designing acts or plans of party spirit or local feelings. It has been made as vague as the Delphic Oracle, and instead of speaking to be heard and obeyed, has but confused and mystified still more this very complex government.

I will take occasion hereafter in speaking more particularly of the Federal Constitution, to cite some glaring cases of a difference of construction in this instrument by the designing and mistaken, that go to prove its utter worthlessness, and will show that there is no recognized power or tribunal left to construe its intentions; that power being denied to the Federal Court, or Federal Congress by a strong and prevailing party. Besides the inherent local feeling which we have set forth in this chapter, that tends to the disruption of all confederations, there are many other active causes of disunion, powerfully and banefully affecting this government. We will enumerate some of the leading and most active in the next chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

EXTENT—CLIMATE—PRODUCTIONS.

The next great source of weakness and ultimate disunion, is the great extent of the territory of the

Federal government. This wide spread and in a manner detached extent of country, weakens and dissipates that fellow feeling and sympathy that must exist to constitute a strong and efficient government. So remote are the New England States, and those formed out of Louisiana, from each other, that there is very little community of interest between them, none whatever of feeling or sympathy. They feel foreign to each other, and when jealousies or differences of interest arise between them, there is no patriotism into which to resolve them, no active central power to soothe and control, nothing but accident or self restrains.

The same may be said of the Atlantic and Western States, between which mountain barriers arise. The Western States, based on the most fertile soil known on earth, are rapid in their growth and developement. Their teeming soil gives them time to nurse all their jealousies and local feelings. Already they claim to hold the high offices, to govern, and talk openly of removing the Federal machinery from Washington's city, and planting it under their own control, either in Cincinnati or St. Louis. They speak with all the recklessness of a prodigal youth, of the Eastern States or of the Federal power. They are so jealous of these States, that although dependent upon them for a market, and for the supply of a thousand necessities which their manufacturers furnish, ~~that~~ they stand ready to compromit it all in favor of England or foreign countries, if these should offer them any temporary or short-lived inducements in trade. Their arrogance grows bolder daily; looms more alarming from year to year, and without patriotism enough

to chasten these local, selfish and arrogant feelings, will act and carry them out as soon as their giant limbs acquire a little more gristle and strength. Concentration in interest, feeling and power, and a sympathetic patriotism are absolutely necessary to an efficient and well-balanced government; without these imbecility, vacillation, and indecision characterize it, and leave it a prey to the more active and prompt. A government with acknowledged strength, with inherent energy, whose acts would never be questioned, or whose power would never be stayed or gainsayed, would find it very difficult to cover such an extent of territory, and cause itself to be felt and respected! How then can an imbecile government, whose acts are all questioned, and often opposed, dependent on chances or the popularity of its measures for support, hope to control such a wide spread population? A population too sparse to be gathered up or even found?—a field too extended to be traversed in time to correct disorders, repel invasions, or relieve distresses? The weakness of any government is in proportion to its extent or want of unity, and its exertions unavailing in the same proportion. In the last war with England, fifteen million of people, weakened by extent of territory, distance, and internal dissensions, could not carry through the mud and wilderness force enough to either capture or repel one brigade of men in Canada. They let the whole frontier suffer invasion, and left Canada uncontrolled, and unconquered. Every barrel of pork cost them eighty dollars, every barrel of flour fifty, and every soldier two hundred before they reached the Northern frontier. A government that spreads its

thin texture over two thousand miles square, must be united and strong to preserve its own existence.

Connected with and growing out of the extent of territory in the United States, and equally operative as a cause of disunion, is the difference of climates incident thereto. This gives birth to very different temperaments, that not only feel differently, but are very differently affected by the same impulses or causes of action. They can never see with the same eyes, hear with the same ears, or calculate upon the same scale. The budget of public exigencies, the balance sheet of public expenditures, and the estimates of public duties, and national policies are seen differently, felt differently, and estimated differently. In the national councils therefore, where all these cold and ardent temperaments meet, disagreements will arise, prejudices be lit up, and parties or combinations formed. The North are cold and cautious in their calculations, the South ardent and exaggerated in their views, and the West bold and reckless in their policies. How can they legislate in harmony? meet in just and proper action, and give efficiency to the administration of the Federal government?

The rashness and false policies of the West and South, have already tinged all the measures of the General Government. They are well calculated to involve us in foreign wars. Witness the seizure of Florida. The sequestration of a portion of Mexico, under the name of Texas, which is in effect the same as if the United States had done it alone. Witness lately an attempt to organize the Oregon Territory in the teeth of a clause in our treaty with Great Britain. Had Spain or Mexico been power-

ful nations, they never would have submitted to such wanton acts of spoliation.

The North goes for a just economy, great propriety in national affairs, and a permanent and available condition of things. The South would run for temporary advantages, short-sighted policies, extravagance in all things, and force the growth and resources of the country, or sacrifice them to present benefit or enjoyment. The West would rip up the goose that lays the golden eggs; and as posterity has done nothing, in their slang expression, for them, they would leave the future to chances, and let posterity take care of themselves. These different temperaments, arising from such a vast difference of climate, instead of producing a happy balance as they might under an efficient government to control them, do, under our distracted Federal power, give birth to passion, hatred, party spirit, and all that violence which does not be content with talking and feeling, but proceeds to action, and stands ready on any great occasion, or under any very great and exciting policy, to put an end to every thing, and stop the very motion of this *vis inertia* of a government.

This extent of territory and varied climate of the United States, give rise to a very varied production. This, you are ready to say, is a blessing and desideratum in government. It would be so if the government was a unity, and could gather up this pleasing and rich variety into her bosom, and through an active and steady commerce derive wealth and comfort from it. Instead, however, of their becoming blended into a stream of interchange and commerce, under this inactive and undecided government, they are a fruitful source of a difference of

interest that shakes the very foundations of the government, and implants much bitterness, and cherishes many feelings of disunion.

Cotton, tobacco, rice, pork, flour, lard, fish, lumber, minerals, and manufactures are produced in great abundance by different sections of the United States. Most of these great staples, however, look abroad for a market, because they are in much too great abundance for home consumption. This surplus is so great, that it is all important to many of them to have such a market, and they go for those policies that would open or extend to them such outlets. The sugar interest cannot exist without a tariff almost prohibitory to stop off the West Indies and South America. The cotton and tobacco growers, embracing seven or eight States, think that unless they take every thing they consume from Europe, Europe would either cease to take these great staples, or greatly diminish the quantity they might want, and for these reasons are strongly opposed to any tariff. The fisheries claim even a bounty from the government for their productions, and the manufacturers go en masse for a tariff. The pork, lard and flour interests hope through some sort of tariff arrangements with England, to find for these products a certain market and a better price. All are deeply concerned in a tariff, and nearly equally divided ; but all cannot be accommodated. Hence, the Federal Government is in a deep quandary on this subject, and either comes to a stand still, or acts without a permanent system or settled policy. This brings us to the next great question of disunion, the tariff.

CHAPTER V.

TARIFF.

This is the great subject at present that absorbs all attention, and threatens the union. All the great and bulky agricultural productions of this diversified climate and extent of territory ; all the produce of mines ; all that the great deep yields ; that the forest furnishes, or that the skilful, intelligent and industrious manufacturers fabricate, stand committed on this policy, and feel that their best interests, if not their very existence, depend upon it. Hence, they rush into the national councils with excited feelings, well calculated to commit the future prosperity of the country, if they do not the very government itself. Should, however, either of the two great parties in relation to the tariff prevail by a meagre and scant majority, it is very probable the other would not submit to it, but enforce some sectional remedies under local or state authority. Adam Smith and Mr. Say made plausible theories, and wrote specious volumes, to prove that "free trade," "purchasing wherever cheapest," "and no restrictions," were the true and correct policy ! England and France, where those gentlemen resided, praised their books, but took especial care not to adopt their maxims, and grew rich in spite of them. The United States did adopt them almost alone, and now feel much embarrassed thereby.

Up to the year 1812 or 1813, these States never dreamed of manufacturing. The inconvenience then occasioned by English and French aggressions,

and the English war that followed, forced the American Congress to make a tariff for protection, to enable her people to get articles of the very first necessity. Much skill and interest were rapidly built up under it, and New England particularly grew rich during its action. As soon, however, as the war ended, commerce resumed her wonted channels, and found safety on the seas ; the great agricultural and other interests we have spoken of, commenced a warfare on the tariff, made it a great political question that has ever since nearly equally divided the States, and threatens their very existence. They have made it a constitutional question, which shows how utterly worthless such an instrument is when great questions agitate the States. The anti-tariff party say that Congress has no power to lay any tariff except for revenue, forgetting that such a doctrine would jeopardize the very existence of the government, and place it in the power of its rivals or enemies, without any power to countervail. The uncertainty and doubt as to the tariff, which these fierce party discords create, prevent capitalists from embarking their substance in it, paralyse the resources of the country, and keep this young and otherwise vigorous people from advancing and realizing the wealth due to their intelligence and industry. So nearly are they balanced, that the best interests of the country are in constant alarm ; and so great, sudden and unprincipled are these changes of policy in reference to commerce and manufactures, that people become nonplussed and reckless. They stand ready to join party, witness disorder, or willing to see an end put to it at the expense of the union, which would leave them at liberty to form new

combinations more congenial to their interests and views.

The party, principally made up of whigs that support a tariff, say that it is necessary to the comfort and independence of all people to make their own supplies. That agriculture is so much overdone, and cheapened by her over productions, and by the restrictive system of European nations, that she could furnish surplus labor enough, aided by women and children, to manufacture every thing that the population consumes. That this would create a happy division of labour; make a home market that would purchase largely of agricultural productions, as well provisions as raw materials, and save the expenditure of fifty or an hundred million of dollars abroad for supplies. They contend that the home market is the most important one to all people; and witness the documentary fact, that the United States import but fifty million of manufactured articles, as the custom house shows. She consumes, however, not less than nine hundred million of manufactured goods, as the census proves. One item alone, that of textures, including silks, woollens and cottons, at twenty-five dollars a head, amounts to four hundred and fifty million dollars for her population. All other items, such as hats, boots, glass, paper, furniture, carriages, harness, saddles, and a thousand other articles, they say would swell the list to the nine hundred million and even more.

The friends of the tariff contend, that there is all the difference between spending a dollar to buy any thing at home, and sending that dollar abroad for the same article. In the latter case the dollar is gone forever, whilst in the former it remains in the coun-

try—touches a thousand springs of industry in its active circulation; and after all is in the country, and a part of its wealth; and should the article cost a fraction more at home, it would not affect the result, for prices balance in the round. They witness the impoverishing effect of any country spending its revenues abroad; and instance Ireland, Spain and the Indies as strong examples in proof.

The friends of a tariff say, and prove it by statistics, that in these times of factitious wants and wide spread consumption, no people do or can sell enough abroad to buy all they wish to consume; their exports form their ability, and in the United States that export is only about one hundred million dollars, whilst their consumption, as seen above, is nine hundred million. England, independently of her manufactures, exports a bagatelle! How then could she buy the five hundred million pounds worth of fabrics that she wants, did she not make them?

They say, also, that commerce would not be affected, for what the United States had less of foreign they would have the more of a home domestic trade; always more active, safe and controllable; and that the revenue would attach upon articles that the country does not or could not produce, and upon some raw materials, and some articles of high luxury, and find sufficient therefrom to suffice the wants of the government.

They say, too, that if these States made all their supplies of fabrics at home, still the wants of Europe would take from them most of the surplus of raw staples, particularly cotton, and would have to pay for them in specie, which would greatly enrich the country; and prove it by the showing, based on

certain calculations, that of the million and a half bales of cotton exported from the United States to Europe, the United States takes back only sixty thousand bales in fabrics of that material, all told. This is proved by data drawn from the custom house, of the relative value of the raw and wrought articles.

It is further alleged, that although a tariff does operate a bounty to the manufacturer and a tax on consumption temporarily, yet it soon ceases to be the case, for as soon as capital is engaged, skill acquired and competition lit up, the articles made become cheap, and even cheaper than the same can be imported for. They prove this simply by comparing the prices of the same goods in England and America, by the known and admitted fact, that the United States are sending their goods abroad, and selling them along side of the English, particularly in China and South America, and have actually sent many articles to England herself and sold them there. They admit that the tariff in such a case is and becomes a dead letter; yet it is useful, inasmuch as it prevents foreign manufacturers throwing low priced, defective goods on their market, such as they would be willing to sacrifice upon in order to meet emergencies or depress prices.

The friends of a tariff furthermore contend, that on the great principle of reciprocity, the United States in justice to herself, should have a tariff; because the nations of Europe, particularly England, admit nothing of their great surplus but what they are obliged to have, and lay a heavy duty on all fabrics. To countervail this, and to vindicate her nationality, a tariff is sound policy on the part of

the United States. And had Europe admitted on a fair footing provision stuffs alone from the United States during the last thirty years, it would have realized to these States, from their surplus alone, not less than one thousand million dollars. The quality of goods is of great consequence, they say too, to a people; and when they make their own supplies a better quality is produced, good faith and character observed, and frauds and imitations not known. That the difference of price in labor is but little felt in these times of perfect machinery, and that cheaper provisions and rent would more than make up any difference in wages. That the wrought value is five times the raw; that one-third of the labor requiring one-third only of the capital, spins up in England the raw material raised in the United States, and realises that difference, being two hundred per cent. profit.

Finally, they say that there is but one great rule or principle in political economy in reference to tariffs, in spite of all the formal precepts of the books, and that is, that every nation ought and must govern itself by *circumstances*. The surplus labor; the wants of the people and government; the climate and poverty or fertility of her soil; the raw materials; the supply of coal, iron, copper, lead, and such articles; water power; intercommunication, and all other circumstances that bear upon the subject.

E. CONTRA.

The anti-tariff party, principally made up of the staple growers and the loco-focos, contend, and ring them through all their changes, that trade should be free; that all should be at liberty to buy

where they can cheapest, and that all tariffs are a bounty to the manufacturer, and a tax on the consumer. If trade be free, they contend, or imports, enough collected for revenue only, every thing would regulate itself in commerce, and a perfect reciprocity be established in the whole world. 'They don't consider that those sections of the world that have the start in skill and capital, would still continue to keep it; and standing on the vantage ground would subsidize all others. They say, all free men should have the natural right of buying where they can cheapest, unrestricted, and that every act of a government that impairs this right, is oppressive and wrong; without considering whence the ability to purchase is to come, or what is due from one nation to another. They say, also, that one part of the community should not be taxed for the support of another, without considering the ultimate effects of this temporary tax, and the great results that never fail to attend it, as showed above.

They resort to the very far-fetched and forced argument, that a tariff is unconstitutional; that the Federal government has no right to levy imposts except for revenue, without reflecting that it appertains to the very existence of all governments to not only have revenue, but to be able to countervail other nations, and cherish and protect domestic industry in all its branches. They do not recur to the fact, that the Federal government has been in the constant habit from its foundation, of giving bounties, countervailing, and protecting, any interest that seemed to require it, and the courts and all concerned have acquiesced in it.

These popular and slang arguments of the anti-

tariff party, particularly "free trade," "buy where cheapest," and "tax not one part for the benefit of another," strike the ignorant and unreflecting with much force. They cannot run out the consequences of these maxims, and go with the party uttering them as their best friends. The politicians seeing that, ring them through all their changes, proclaim them not only in Congress, but at the corners of the streets, ale houses, court houses, and gather thus all the idle and thoughtless into their vortex.

The government of the United States, made up of these two great parties, either come to a stand still upon that subject, or act with so much versatility and uncertainty, that the country, as we remarked before, is thrown back and non-plussed. No power exists in the Federal government to avail itself of the rich variety of products, the great advantages which it possesses for manufactories and commerce, and resolve into one great system of prosperity these varied and rich materials. They are left to chances, or left to float between the parties, a fruitful source of party spirit and eventually disunion. England in such a case, resolves all advantages into some focus of general usefulness, and hushes all opposition thereto.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL SUFFRAGE.

Of all the fatal causes of disunion dependent on the action of her people, that of a general suffrage

is the most certain and unerring. It remained for the people of this confederation to find the lowest level in this dirty and corrupt field of political action. They have extended it to embrace all the idle, worthless, ignorant and corrupt mass of population, native and imported; and this great chaldron of popular filth throws up its ebullitions of dregs and froth, until all that is pure and spiritual runs off, and leaves the mass to its own impurities. Understand me not to speak against the proper elective and representative principle; this is the very palladium of human liberty; the only certain and proper guarantee of the rights of persons and things. The elective franchise to be efficient, should embrace the substance and intelligence of the land; should be conservative in its character; rest upon the *juste milieu*, the middling interests; where all substance, intelligence and worth repose. It should keep in check an overweening aristocracy on the one hand, and control and quiet the action of the rabble and mobs on the other. An unrestrained suffrage is the most sure agent in letting a nation down below her interests, and rendering her regardless of her best and greatest policies, her national honor and glory, and divesting herself of all elevation of character.

A voter should have a substantial interest in the country; a property qualification based upon real estate; should be so circumstanced as to feel the action of all laws that bear upon property as well as persons. The great interests of society would then be safe; the great policies of the country regarded, and all those sudden and impulsive and unjust laws avoided that go to derange the body politic, and

operate partially. The elector should *go* to the ballot box, not *be carried* by the designing ; should vote from his own feelings of worth and interest, not from any motive foreign to the general good, or calculated to benefit party. When a manly independence marks the elections, the country is safe, and all its best interests and policies will be regarded and carried out. A great zeal has been all the time manifested by our designing politicians to have the suffrage extended, because they foresaw that it would be a vast leverage in their scale of power. To be of the age of 21 years, and exist in the country, or the county, or district where they vote, are all the qualifications required in many States. The vagabond without any interest in the country, the drunken sot, the pauper, the hireling soldier, the menial, the foreigner, only a few months arrived, before he knows our language, are all entitled to vote in some of the States.

Our corrupt presses and designing demagogues, meet the foreigners on their arrival upon our strand, and engross their votes. They say to the Irishman that he must now vote with them, the only party that goes for liberty. To the German, that he had better have remained a vassal at home than be here, unless he votes with them, the only friends to liberty. They say they are the only friends to the poor man ; that the rich wigs, as they call the whigs, aim to tyrannise over them, and make beasts of burden of them. Such unqualified assertions, accompanied with flattering attentions, civility, and treatings generally, secure their votes and gain their confidence. The party that secures and uses this numerous class of voters, stands completely organized,

have their committees to wait on them, their rooms to collect them into, their orators to harangue them, their taverns to treat them in, even hacks and carriages are subsidized on the days of elections for their benefit. Where the forms of naturalization are thought necessary to be gone through, a fund is raised to pay the fee, and the foreigner exempted from all charges. A great effort is all the time made by that party of which we speak, to secure the managers of the elections, for then if any irregularity occurs, any question be made as to the right to vote, these managers overrule it, and admit the votes questioned all the time, if on their side. When the seat of the member they wrongfully return is questioned, if a majority of the body be of his way of thinking he is sure to be retained, as was witnessed in the case of the New Jersey election, and the more recent case, where four or five States sent forward members to Congress elected without the district system, that was positively ordered by a solemn act of Congress; and the flagrant corruption that occurred in the Parish of Plaquemines, La.

✓ As we said before, the general suffrage when conceded, is never to be recalled or got back. Now is the time for our politicians to make the effort, when the effects of it are so plainly seen in the riots and mobs that are disgracing our cities, when it is so manifest that all our political disorders owe their origin to its action, when the aim of our designing politicians is so plainly seen in reference to the control they take of these voters, and the political capital they make out of them, but we have scarcely any hope of success.

It is very plain to all who reflect, that this class

of voters stands in the way of our best policies, particularly our tariff and manufacturing interests. There is no reasoning with them, because they meet you with the slang expressions of "free trade," "tax not," &c., which the designing politicians have put into their mouths. They stand on that lowest level that we speak of, and can't elevate their views to any thing great or national, or appreciate any policy that would go to encourage on the national scale, our industry or manufacturing operations. The enmity and hatred that have been implanted for effect in the minds of these unsubstantial voters against the rich, the refined, the cultivated, the worth, and substance of the land, is sure to manifest itself at the polls, is universal, uncompromising and vindictive, and goes against all that ought to control and govern. This war upon the substance and worth of the country, points to agrarianism pretty plainly; and if it be stopped short of that, yet the separation is so clear between these voters and the intelligence, substance and worth of the country, that all beneficial action is stopped between them. Where confidence exists between these different classes, much good is done. The refined, educated and well-mannered shed a softening influence upon their poor neighbors; serve them in many things, save them much, suggest much, lift them greatly above their circumstances, and ameliorate their condition. This is a much better state for all countries, than the warfare that is got up and kept up between them by designing politicians. All this however, stands completely precluded, and that by system and design. No country is safe unless a beneficial influence is exerted by the substance, intelligence and worth of it upon the

mass of the people, and without it all the guaranties of rights of persons and property must fail, and all the interests and policies be prostrated or kept down. The naturalization laws of our Congress are short enough in all conscience, but they are defeated and of no force in many of the States. A six months residence entitles all to vote and hold office in the State government; rarely any questions are asked by the managers as to naturalization, and if naturalization be resorted to, its certificate is made out by party, regardless of the facts, by some clerk for the fee, or some designing judge to subserve his party, as was lately manifested in New Orleans by judge Elliott and his clerk. Were the five years necessary to the right honestly carried out, it would be much better for the country, and put foreigners in possession of a better knowledge of our institutions. All good Americans, or disinterested patriots, look with horror and despair on this much abused department, and fail to correct its undue action.

The property, and even the lives of persons in our cities where population is condensed, and all the bad materials collected, are very unsafe and call loudly for some system calculated to keep order. The Federal power is inefficient in such a case, and it remains to be seen how far the organized militia will dare to act for the suppression of riots and disorder. Our impression is, that they will not dare, and that unless the elective franchise could be corrected, and the naturalization laws could be carried out more efficiently and extended, all is in jeopardy. Our manufacturing policy calls as loudly for this as our cities, and needs it as much in establishing its interests and preserving its property.

Nothing but a property qualification can save us or keep our institutions in safe hands. Persons without property or a fixed home, can feel comparatively but little interest in the country, and are not in a condition to care much for her interests. Such are often poor and nearly destitute from some bad habit, or some vice or inherent worthlessness, and as incapable of taking care of the public good as they have showed themselves incompetent to manage their own. The votes of such persons are easily controlled by the designing : and made to subserve base and interested purposes. Demagogues and unprincipled politicians hardly ever try to influence the substantial free-holders of the country, knowing they could not hope to succeed. Hence they are always preaching up and too often succeed in extending the rights of suffrage to the idle, unsubstantial and loosely attached persons that they know they can influence in the elections. This country has been already nearly prostrated by such a course, and has lost her high tone, and those yearnings after virtue and good order that once characterized her. A thousand local, partial, and disorganizing sentiments are afloat, in place of the early patriotism and devotedness to country that followed the revolution. A hostile feeling, as we have said, now rages against the property holders, the substance, intelligence, refinement and worth of the country, that threatens to affect all interests and all vested rights. Demagogues float on the surface of this general suffrage, and through it put to bargain and sale every thing precious and valuable. Experience tells the tale ; facts speak for themselves, and there is no need of argument

to show all this; it follows as certainly and as naturally as a shadow follows its substance, and unless it could be checked or corrected, all is lost. The Naturalization laws are connected with all this, and let in, unless guarded, votes enough from abroad to insure by joining in, the prostration of our fair temple of liberty. The United States put the term at five years, a term short enough; but many of the States have defeated it, and rendered it a dead letter, by letting them vote almost immediately and hold office in their respective limits. The right to hold real estate should not be allowed to a foreigner before he be fully naturalized and identified with the country. The only doubt is, whether this suffrage can be called in and confined to the substance of the country after having been bestowed upon the worthless and unsubstantial?—we say it cannot—and whether the naturalization laws can be placed upon the ground that the Federal government intended them to stand on? Our best disposed citizens are let down so low in the scale of political degradation that nothing can raise and restore them.

A policy called the Jeffersonian has walked forth and spread down south and west into all the States that were settled from Virginia, or that received much emigration from her. This began with Thomas Jefferson, and aims to build up the States at the expense of the national government. It talks incessantly of State rights, Secession, nullification, consolidation, and wages an unrelenting war all the time on the federal power. She felt that Virginia, after giving six Presidents to the nation, was greater than the nation itself; and be

cause she failed to govern her all the time, commenced pulling her down. All that was exclusively and essentially national came in for her denunciation. She denounced central power, commerce, manufactories, banking, armies, navies, national debt, national glory, honor, or a high national character. She controverted all this with State rights, based upon general suffrage and anti-internal improvements. The bug bears with which she humbugged and alarmed the people were, consolidation, federal usurpation, federal courts, State sovereignty, buy where we can cheapest, tax not a part for the good of another part or the whole; free trade, let alone system, have our work-shops abroad, and a thousand such strange absurdities.—Her influence, however, unfortunately for the nation, was sufficient with the aid of a conceded general suffrage, to prostrate all that she denounced, and carry all her measures. We have hobbled ever since, and see our best interests sacrificed every year, and every Congress that meets getting farther and farther from the means necessary to a change of our policy. The government now is in a worse condition than a government of chance; there are design, corruption, and ruinous combinations at work. The dishonest politicians and the floating unsubstantial voters, join in appropriating the very essence of the country—its funds, its treasury, its offices, its emoluments, all to their own use. No great measures that would arouse, ennoble and enrich the country, will get any countenance from them, because they would lift the nation above their paltry, corrupt and pitiful intrigues.

When the whole mass of the male population over twenty-one years of age, and who are found residents in a place, have a vote, they outnumber the worth and substance of the land, and carry all the elections. Such voters bear the proportion of five to one to the property or free holders. When associated with the designing politicians, who may be entitled to a vote on the principle of property qualifications, they number ten to one, and become more than four fifths. When taken in connection not only with such designing politicians who control them, but in connection with all honest property holders who may be found thinking and acting with them, all of this difference is seen. The consequence is a mathematical certainty which they will have, of controlling the elections, and all the legislation and measures of the country. All policies must either originate with them, or be defeated by their joint action. All offices must be monopolized and held by them or their directors, and the whole resources of the nation be thrown under their sole control and subject to their use and emolument. The administration of the government under such representatives, must partake of their mean sordid notions, their low groveling vices, and views, and be claimed as due to their exertions and party. The feelings of party devotedness and bribery, even with such electors, will induce them without the least hesitation or scruples, to lay hold of the whole of the offices and the treasury, and appropriate them to their own use and behoof.

To show that the above proportions are not exaggerated, I will enumerate such facts as have been established in England, France, and this country,

as constituting the scale of voters under different circumstances. In England the ten pound free hold or lease hold, will give one to one hundred and twenty of the males over twenty-one years of age. In Ireland not more than one to four hundred. In France a similar free hold or lease hold qualification for a voter, will give by the returns made to the government, about one to two hundred and thirty-two. The same basis would give in New York one to one hundred. A real estate basis of fifty dollars and upwards, would give in England one to one hundred and eighty. In Ireland, one to three hundred. In France, one to two hundred and seventy. In the United States, one to ten in the cities, and one to eight in the country parts of the United States. If the manufacturing districts in England and France be taken, say Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Paisley, Rouen, Lyons, and other similar places, the proportion of voters to the males over twenty-one years, at ten pound, is one to eight hundred; at fifty dollars worth of a free hold, or lease or rent, is one to five hundred and eighty—in the United States, one to two hundred and fifty. It results from these facts that the unsubstantial, if allowed to vote, can in all cases and in all the countries named, (five to one even here) out vote the substantial and property holders, or tax payers, under the most favorable circumstances. I will further assert, and prove it by facts and experience, that four fifths of all such voters hang together and vote for the most busy, most noisy, and most corrupt party—say the Democrats or Locos in the United States; the Whigs and anti-corn law party in

England; the agrarian or O'Connell party in Ireland; the Radical party in France, and all other countries; and are so drilled, whipped in, marked and known, that they hang together and listen to no reason or arguments at all. They are also fully and clearly arrayed against the property, decency, worth, cultivation and substance of the country, in all cases and in all places, as we have said. They are so embodied that they take the word and order of party, move with their party regardless of all national interests or policies or character, and stand ready to do battle for their leaders and party.

They read no papers but of their party, and believe or give currency to all lies and slanders uttered by their party. In the United States they wage an incessant war upon the national party, swallow all the lies and slanders uttered against the leaders of that party, and will give currency to lies knowing them to be such; wink and connive with one another at such falsities, and plume themselves on their address in running down their opponents in that way and by such a vile course, which shows that cunning and unprincipled design govern them rather than ignorance, and that they hang together and do wrong for effect and interest.

Let us look close at this class of general suffrage voters in the United States, and see how they are first constituted, and next how they think and feel, and lastly what they aim to accomplish, and how. The history that we have already given, shows that the Jeffersonian party preached up and carried into practice, the broadest principles of general suffrage, to enable them to carry their points, viz: put down the Adams or Federal party, and build

up their own upon a permanent basis. They disregarded the best interests of the country, and the evident intentions of the Constitution of the United States. They availed themselves of a clause of that instrument, which said all should vote for Federal officers and members of the Federal Congress, who voted for the most popular officer or branch of a State Government. Not meaning that any should vote before the five years necessary to a naturalization be elapsed—yet so taken by that party. Most of the States allowed foreign immigrants to vote almost as soon as they arrived in the country. They met, as we have stated, the radical Irishmen and Englishmen, as soon as they arrived in the country, and announced to them that they were the only friends of liberty; were struggling in that cause not only against foreign despots and aristocrats, but a party, the Federal party at home, who aimed to introduce all the worst parts of the English government here, and would, unless counteracted, make slaves of all of them. They branded all good men, all real patriots, all substantial cultivated men, as Aristocrats; proud, hating the poor foreigner, and aiding the oppressive governments of Europe in every way. They said to the Germans, Swiss, and Dutch, who came, that they must vote with them or be slaves, and repeated the same things to them; and telling them that they had as well have remained vassals in Europe as come here, unless they vote with them against the Federal Aristocrats, as they called the party opposed to them. They said to the French that they were friends to Bonaparte, and opposed to the tyranny and corruption of the Bourbons and holy alliance.

In this way they got all foreigners to vote and act with them, and who constituted one eighth of their whole vote.

See now how these unsubstantial voters are made up. First, laborers on the farms of the nation constitute half of them, and much the honestest and safest part of them—the other half are made up of those foreigners, who arrive, most of them, without property or character, and engrossed in the way we have named; and of vagabonds, loafers, paupers, menial servants, and all rogues and drunkards, with a good proportion of office holders and hunters, and seekers of promotion and the patronage of those who wield the government. The whole, as we have said, taught to hate all respectable, wealthy, cultivated, and well mannered persons, and to call them aristocrats and tyrants. They are all arrayed to vote against them at each and every election. So clean is the sweep, and so effectual the organization, that they never fail so to vote, and it is understood by both parties that they will so vote all the time. A gentleman who has a servant, or a hireling, counts on his vote being in opposition; and if he gathers up his carriage to go to the polls, he says to himself “it is no use, for my coachman will vote against me and balance mine.” All the laborers a gentleman has, or employs, are directly opposed to him in politics, and good fellows with the demagogues all the time. When a man employs hands in a factory, and the continuation of the tariff, or the laying one on, be indispensable to him, yet his hands, although as much dependant on a tariff for their employment and bread as he,) will vote against him. The dema-

gogues operate on their pride when all other inducements fail, by telling them that if they do not vote in opposition to their employers, it will be considered that he has bribed or influenced them, and that they are not freemen or independent citizens. This has the effect in nearly all cases to carry their votes; not only in the case of factory hands, but laborers on farms, canals, rail roads, or any other jobs, and applies with equal effect to small renters or tenants, who would not have the property within themselves. All the above classes being voters, from the pauper, loafer, and stranger, to the tenant and laborer, make a clean separation of them all from the worth, intelligence, and substance of the land, and prevent those thousand kindnesses, interchanges of civilities, and patronizing influences, that the higher classes ought to practise and exert upon the lower, and leave the latter to their own coarse society, and vulgar drinking slang, without the least chance of any amelioration, improvement, or softening of their manners.

In the stead then of continual bad habits and vices, if free schools be proposed, or free lectures of nights, the lower classes cannot be collected because of the feeling we speak of, and from a fear that some plan or design is aimed at to affect them. This hatred of the higher classes goes further in the United States than in England, because there they having no vote, do often consult their superiors and take advice from them, and become proud of their patronage. All the occupations in England, are in some manner so connected that all concerned consult one another, and contribute to each other's interests—not so in the United States. The very

hirelings are rude and impertinent, often to those on whom they are dependant, and work sulkily and with threats, and contend that they are of as much consequence as their employers.

The means the demagogues and designing politicians make use of to drill these voters into their plans and party, are various and always unprincipled. They tell them, as we said before, that they are the only friends to liberty and the rights of man, and if they expect, or wish to be free, they must vote with their party, and fall into their ranks and plans. They are always civil to them, make them good fellows well met, and not only talk to them as their equals, or even superiors, but preach up to them how poor and oppressed they are, and will continue to be, unless they take things into their own hands. They say to them, that they are not only as good as the independent and higher classes, but better, because they work and produce what the others consume and profit by to grow rich upon. They treat them, invite them to their political meetings and club rooms, and introduce them to their orators and slang-whangers; who immediately give them the first lesson, consisting in calling them free men, the yeomanry, the sinews and backbone of the country, the real sovereigns and support of the country. They flatter them too, by saying, that they must assist in the government and help to carry it on, as they are the real working-men, and know, or would know, what was best to be done in all cases. They then, as a second lesson, vilify the worth, intelligence and substance of the country, by calling them all names, as we have said, and questioning all their motives and actions. They also open to them pros-

pects ahead, which they dare not be too explicit upon, such as point to agrarianism, and denounce vested rights, charters and monopolies, not only of office but property. They say wages must be kept up, the public lands divided out, and taxes attach to property and the rich only, to the total exemption of the laborer or poor man. On the days of election they furnish them carriages to ride in, taverns to sleep and eat in, all sorts of liquor to drink, and in those States where some form of naturalization has to be gone through, a fund is raised to pay the fee, so that the foreigner shall not be charged any thing. They offer to laborers, and particularly foreigners, employment at the expense of the government, and an office to most of them. They afterwards let them into their secrets, and call on them to aid them in lying and slandering their opponents; and justify it by saying that all means are right and lawful that go to crush the monster aristocracy, meaning the real excellence of the land. It is amusing to see how quick an Irishman, for instance, can be initiated into all cheating and tricks, and lies, and fighting violences, used at the election for effect. You will see these low Irishmen winking and laughing in their sleeves, when some lie is uttered for effect against their opponents, and soon hear him repeating it, and swearing "by Jasus, it is thrue, ivery word of that same." When all other tricks and cajolings fail to get a fellow to vote as they wish, they next resort to bribery and direct corruption. In order to raise a sum of money necessary to carry out their plans, they will tax the leaders of the party as far as they can conveniently bear it; but have now resorted to a tax on office-holders. Say there

are twenty thousand office-holders in the United States and the States that they belong to, whose salaries amount to two millions of dollars; they determine in their grand and secret councils, that all salaries are to be taxed ten per cent., which will raise two hundred thousand dollars with which to bribe and play their game. This sum is used in establishing some six or eight hundred presses, and hiring editors to lie and fight for them, and that have no character. Much of the sum is employed in distributing papers, and tracts, and pamphlets filled with lies and most foul slanders, and labored perversions of the opinions and conduct of their opponents. Orators, too, are hired to travel and stump speech in all the remote settlements, and utter lies, and perversions, and slanders as black as night against meritorious candidates. The officer who would not submit to be taxed on, his salary would be sure to be turned out of his office, and if he alleged the true reason for his losing his office, he would be called a liar and slanderer, and some dishonest act not only alleged against him as the cause of his being turned out, but proved by all sorts of certificates of their minions. They always have persons ready to make and give certificates to any fact wanted, and to support their charges. They say to their certificate men, "you serve your party by it, and as there is no oath it makes no difference; is the rather meritorious, because it crushes an enemy to liberty, may be an aristocrat."

Millions of money have been taken out of the public treasury and spent on useless works, with the design and on purpose to collect Irish and other laborers at points where they needed them, in order

to carry elections by their means. Most of the State debts, now amounting to two hundred and twenty millions, were created, not to do any much good, but to give the handling of it to the demagogues and designing politicians, and to employ thousands of foreigners to ensure elections. The politicians, who are the dominant party leaders, have the handling of this money, and never fail to steal a good portion of it. Defalcations and peculations, instead of damning those who practise them, injure them not with their party, and they are neither punished for it or turned out of office. Should some zealous patriot talk of an impeachment of the delinquent, he would be laughed at for his pains, and get none to support him in the attempt but his own party, which is in the minority. For the last five years the office holders in the United States steal fully the amount of their salaries, and use much the largest portion of their stealage in subserving their party, and ensuring to it a continuation in power.

In some cases where public works are finished, and show some continued annual result, they contrive to put it in a shape to serve them and their party. I will name an instance to show what I mean. The city of New York, by a mighty effort, appropriated twelve millions of dollars to bring the Croton river into the city. This law was passed because the locos, who were in office, but on a very meagre majority and great uncertainty of continuing, wished to strengthen themselves in the city by wielding this mighty sum, stealing a part of it, gaining vast patronage in the expenditure of it, and introducing, which they did, six thousand Irish to execute the great work, and be there to vote with them

all that time. They enriched themselves and these Irish by such contracts as favoritism and power might give, accompanied by all sorts of extras, when under bid, or when for appearance sake they had to seem to let the jobs very low to their friends. All this worked as they expected, and when the work was finished, a question was agitated among them how to dispose of it to count them and their friends the most, and continue them in the city offices, which involved an annual expenditure of one million of dollars, and would give some five hundred of them all the time snug offices. They hit on the very corrupt plan of giving water gratis to the poor who voted with them, and thereby secure forever their votes. Accordingly they opened hydrants that spouted the water on every side of every square in the city, without even a stop cock. This water runs for everlastingly, and furnishes the finest water to them for nothing. Thus, instead of hiring out the water to all, and collecting rents enough to cover the interest on the twelve millions, they corruptly gave it away to such an extent that two-thirds of the whole interest had to be collected on real estate, or off the rich men and the substance of the city, materially affecting the value of real estate in the city. On the same principle of favoring their poor friends, they decided that personal property should pay no taxes, nor persons either. So we see a debt of twelve millions fastened on New York forever for the benefit of the party. Many such cases occur in all the States, and under the same motives and for the same or similar objects. Corruption stalks openly through the land, and enters into the whole arrangements of that party,

either in the direct way or indirectly, and the whole revenues of the Federal and the State governments are thus monopolized and appropriated. Of the two hundred and twenty millions which the States borrowed and now owe for, and of which one-half lies without the interest being paid, and a part repudiated altogether, not one-third of it did any good towards developing the country. The other two-thirds were either used up or stolen by the party handling it, or failed to show any result at all. One-third of it went to build up State banks, which were totally used up by that party who created the banks, managed them, and took out of them the whole of the money that had been turned into them; and what was infinitely worse, left millions of irresponsible bank paper in circulation, that fell upon the innocent and proved of no value. Thus making the stealage in effect three times the more, as the capital was first taken, and then twice its amount of paper, becoming for that reason worthless.

Whenever the party, or individuals of the party, were caught stealing, or using, or wasting the public monies, instead of the party punishing such, they let them go, and either continued them in office or applauded them for the deed, or laughed at it as a very smart thing. Ever afterwards such individuals would be found most active at the elections, and sure to be leading orators, agents or committee men for their unprincipled party. Loco Presidents of the United States have often and openly continued in office such as were proved to be defaulters, through a series of years together. Another general practice with the party, is to take men of straw for bonds-

men, or bail, where the office was required by law to give security or bonds. Nine-tenths of the bondsmen were utterly devoid of all responsibility, and the one-tenth that had means were let off by neglect or some designed informality, so that the government never did or expects to get any thing out of the bail. A party thus unprincipled, thus unscrupulous in the use of means, thus hedged and secured on all sides against any ultimate responsibility or personal punishments, will not fail, do not fail to consider all the resources of the country theirs, and appropriate them accordingly, and thereby reward their party and lay the whole country under contribution. When an impatient Irishman, or unprincipled loafer, points to some gentleman's fine house or fine equipage, and says to his leaders, it is time such nabobs were made to feel that others have rights to property too, evidently hinting at agrarianism, the leader lays his hand on his shoulder, and looking him in the face, says, my friend, be patient, have we not all the offices? do we not handle all the money of the nation, and the State and corporation too? and in time will ride in our carriages too, and live in fine houses? Why, my dear sir, that man is our slave—he is working for us! Do we not tax him, and use him? Oh, my darlint, replies the Irishman, that is thrue, you are a jewel, and I did not think of that.

The poor, and particularly the foreigner, with whom the daily vices and criminalities, and violences, and breaches of the peace most often occur, are in a manner shielded from all penalties of the law by the action of the organized party to whom they belong, because that party has the judge, the

jailor, the sheriff, the keeper of the penitentiary, the constables, the police, the peace officers, all on that side, and the individual is sure to escape through the means of some of them, even if he be a murderer, a burglar, or guilty of arson. One man of his party on the jury is sufficient to hang a whole jury, and prevent conviction, as occurs every day. In the turbulence of the elections often murder is committed, or violent assaults, or prevention of the right to vote by any one of the opposite party, and all who are concerned escape punishment. In many cases an Irishman, backed by his countrymen, and goaded on by the leaders of the party, has seized the ballot box and scattered the votes to the four winds, or borne it off in triumph, and yet not punished for it, although the election was thereby defeated. Often false returns are made where the vote was known to be against them, and before the error could be corrected the members falsely returned would take their seats, and a pretended examination into it go on through the whole session of a Congress or a State legislature; the falsely returned members all the time voting with their party, and carrying some measures all important to the party. At the close of the session, or just before the term expired, come to a decision, from the plain nature of the case, which went to show that they were not entitled at all. Yet all the mischief is done, and the party triumphing in their measure and profiting by it. Funds are all the time raised, oftenest stolen from the treasury through the office-holders, to hunt up and naturalize foreigners, and bring them from one place to another as the case might require, and have them ready for voting. In those States where

a residence in the country of six months or a year be necessary to be proved, they suborn witnesses who swear that they know that they have been the necessary time in the country, and thus let one to three thousand to the polls at some one important election. If scamps are detected in voting twice or a dozen times at the different places, for they have twenty different places in the cities and in a county at which to vote, yet they think him smart, screen him from all punishment, and he is sure to get an office for his zeal in serving his party. Bully Irishmen are formed into a phalanx, who jam the polls, and threaten all who come up to them with violence that are not of their party, and the managers, being of their party, pretend that they cannot get them away. The militia are not brought up, partly, because they too would be of their party, and because it is thought monstrous for guns and arms to appear where freemen are voting. If whigs do appear to enforce order, they cry aloud that military force has been used at the elections to deter the people from their independent votes, and the party make much political capital out of it which serves them afterwards, which was a part of their aim. The most certain effect of such violence, of shoving, crowding and insulting, or threatening at the polls, is to keep away decent voters, who do not wish to be embroiled with such low vagabonds. Every trick, all sorts of violence, as well as money and promise of office and employment, are resorted to continually to influence the elections, and with too much success. From all of the above facts, and all of them could be established in a court of justice, I would boldly say, that the general suffrage will, to

certainty, destroy this government and dissolve this confederation.

Let us examine more particularly in what way it will work this ruin, and what circumstances operate to postpone the day of dissolution. The sparse nature of its population has so far postponed the day when these evils and corruptions will produce their effect. When people get settled in the woods, or country, where, if they have no property, a hope is lit up that they will have some property soon, for they see how easy it is to get lands and become freeholders; then they become somewhat changed in their feelings and habits. The very party with which the person acts who has gone into the frontier settlements, induced many to go and settle on the public lands under a law which that party passed, giving pre-emption or preference rights to all settlers, and enabling them to take pick and choice of the lands. The squatter getting at a water power, coal mine, or on some rich timbered and well watered land, can and does sell his right to a pre-emption for three to four times as much as he is bound to pay, and takes the three prices for it, leaving his assignee to pay the government. With the advance he gets land and becomes a freeholder, and ceases to be of the agrarian or radical party, that would distract the country. This works differently from what those intended who induced him to go there, and contributes no little to stay the hands of party, and postpone the time when general suffrage, and the corruptions running with it, will produce ruin to the Union. Again, one so scattered becomes comparatively innocent and harmless, because he is not so situated as to be acted on continually by the ex-

amples and sympathies of the reckless ones of his party, who are gathered into cities or at work on some public works.

If the United States were circumstanced as England or Ireland is, with this general suffrage, the country would be quickly ruined, for there the irresponsible and reckless are collected and concentrated in a way to act on each other, and affect each other by the worst sort of sympathies. If the United States were situated as the cities of New York and Philadelphia are, the propertyless and characterless locos would walk over the land and appropriate all to themselves, by the aid of those corrupt feelings and principles which we have been speaking of. Nothing is wanting but such a density, or concentration of population, to burst into action and suffer no control. It is as sure to come as the sun rises and sets, and follows the principles and state of things named, as surely as the shadow follows the substance. Another circumstance keeps back the result for a season. The party that has let themselves down to this lowest and dirty level, and put in requisition the worthless portion of mankind to aid them, does not aim at the destruction of the government—does not wish to rip up the goose that lays for them the golden eggs. They wish to preserve the worthless and degraded existence of the confederation, to use it as they would a milch cow; appropriate its treasures and revenues, and derive importance from the offices within its gift. They think that they have accomplished that object, but they reckon without their host. They can scarcely now stay the hands of these irresponsible voters from violence and rapine, and in order to dr

it they have to divide the offices and emoluments with them. They thus let into power and influence a dangerous agent, and one that they will not be able to control longer than it gets more strength and impudence. When the great cauldron boils and casts up its scum and froth, it will roll over the bounds assigned to it, and overwhelm in its turmoil all in its way, not only those intended to be the victims, but those who reared it up and vainly hoped to lead or control it. As happened in the French revolution, the tools and minions of the designing politicians will rise above and first set their foot on the necks of their leaders, and those who taught them the scent of blood, and to desecrate religion and private property. The tide that rolls on bears down all. The dregs of the poisoned chalice has to be drank by the persons who mixed it for their betters. The anarchy that follows such an outbreak throws up, to prominent and conspicuous action, some strong energy, that seizes the monster intangled in its own toils, and establishes a despotism as the only thing that can cure the disorders of society. Thus ends the chapter of the general suffrage! Thus will end the Union! Thus will disperse to its original elements the confederation! Say not that this picture is hypothetical and conjured up by the imagination! It is the truth of history, the embodiment of the past, the denouement of poor human nature's drama. Will any person at all conversant with history, that has looked once at the phases of man's political acts, believe for a moment that such a state of things can last long and avoid such a catastrophe? Can such deeply-tainted rottenness, such radical corruption, such broad and

wide spread political poison, fail to produce its effect? The suffrage is conceded—it cannot be called back. Wo betide the politician that moves it! It would be worth the popularity, the standing, the aspirations, if not the life of him who came out against it, whether loco or whig. Let us follow the first track of the monster into practice, and see which way it tends. Mobs cannot be quelled or put down in the cities, because the members of them are voters! The mayor will not go against them, because they are voters, and he dependent on them for his office! The police or constabulary will not seize them, because they are voters, and they would lose their places by opposing their masters and creators! The militia will not fire on them, for they have aspirations to office, and this mob are voters! The United States have no soldiers scarcely, and will not send those few, for the heads of the government have to conciliate voters, and steer clear of all charges of acts of violence towards any of the people. Mobs, therefore, will govern the cities, and endanger lives and property continually, until the broad might of anarchy and confusion arrives to engulf all! They cannot withhold licenses to sell spirits, and prevent the disorders incident thereto, because the mob wishto have such resorts, and the mobs have votes! They cannot order broad wheels to wagons or carts, although all the roads and streets are cut to ruts, because the carters and wagoners and draymen are voters, and do not wish to have the trouble and expense of broad wheels. They cannot prohibit smoking and spitting in the streets and public buildings, because the sovereigns, who indulge in dirt and rudeness, are voters, and none dare thwart

them. They cannot prevent noise, singing, rudeness, and throngs in the streets and grounds, because the blackguards who thus disturb the community are voters, and must be indulged and conciliated. They cannot employ negroes on canals, railroads, or in manufactories, because they have no votes, and the Irish, who have votes, say it must not be done; hence there is nothing but degradation, and pauperism, and vagrancy for the poor blacks. Every thing falls on them. They are the scape-goats for whites and Irish and all, because they have no votes, no political rights. They are more than ever the Ishmaels of this *happy and free country*; every man's hand is against them, and their hands will some day be against all with a vengeance. When we enter that great field of anarchy that the general suffrage will some day open to the astonished world, the black race will be found striking down all that come in their way, and wreaking vengeance upon the races that shall have so long injured and degraded them. They will not do battle for liberty or good order, but for revenge, sweet if long deferred.

We see from the above facts how ready the principles, running with the general suffrage, are to act in aid of disorder and low, dirty practices; how sure they are to lean to meanness and injustice, and what fearful power they already have obtained and exert over their very leaders. Ere long the cockatrice will sting the parent of its monstrous birth. General suffrage is more dangerous, and harder to head and control, when it acts in a representative government than in a democracy, where the people meet in person to discuss any law or measure. In the latter case there is some sympathy with the patriotic ora-

tor, the suffering country; and the crowd are occasionally moved in mass to do good, to relieve distress, repair injuries, prevent violence and injustice, and patriotism is recognized in the tumult. In a cold balloting representative government, when the elections are cast in cold blood and with malice prepense, under the drill of a rascally party and designing demagogues, all goes on to injustice and bows to party violence and party interest, regardless of country. No necessity can draw from the closely whipped in ranks any departure from the word of party, to a suffering country; no sympathy can be drawn forth for national prosperity; the still, small voice of truth and patriotism is no longer heard, nor any maxims of political economy allowed to govern the selfish and engrossed minions of party. Hurra! for me and my party, is the selfish cry. Were there then no other causes of disunion at work—no inherent centrifugal principle to scatter all attraction to the four winds—no complexity of government wheels within wheels—no conflictions between the Central and State governments—no unprincipled party spirit organized and armed cap-a-pie against efficient government and good order—no corrupt, vile and dirty presses paid to put down all merit and character in the nation—no extension of territory large and wide enough to distract every interest and scatter all sympathies and patriotic feelings—no diversity of climates, productions and temperaments, to divide and place into opposition all the extremes of the nation—no negro slavery to mark and degrade one-fifth of our population—no great subjects of commerce, the tariff, internal improvements, State rights, to throw us into ten thousand fragments and divide us into

as many interests and parties. I say, were there none of these things to divide and destroy this Union, break up this confederation, and lay us and all our hopes prostrate, the single principle of the General Suffrage, and all the corruptions growing out of that, and incident to it, would not fail to work the disunion, do the work of destruction and put an end to all of our confederated organization. It is self-sufficient, and can play the cards of destruction alone without its other strong partners in the game, such as we have enumerated. How long will it require to work this ruin? I believe some twenty years, not more; because all the great agents at work are in active operation, and these irresponsible voters, under the general suffrage, too impatient to wait many years for the golden reward held out to them, and that they count so certainly upon realizing. In the Dorr war, as the tumults in Rhode Island were called, an Irishman and his wife went into a gentleman's house in Providence and were looking around at the grounds, fixings, furniture, and style; and when asked what they wanted remarked, that they were looking for a house to suit them, as they were told that they would have choice of the houses soon. This shows how impatient they are for the loaves and fishes.

When the Whigs and National Republican party, on some occasions, passed laws to have a registration of all voters made out officially, on due examination of their qualifications, particularly in the cities where immigrants were continually arriving and departing, as the only means of guarding against frauds and false voting; the Loco party opposed it with all their force. In the few cases where it was carried over

their heads, they never rested until they repealed the law, and threw it all open to their intrigues, frauds and false certificates. They wish to have it all upon uncertainty, so that they can introduce or fabricate votes enough to carry the election and ensure success to their party in all cases. They allege that it is wrong to make or require a free man to register himself and stand on any catalogue or list. That the right to vote is inherent, and appertains to a citizen and free man. It made a difference of one-fourth in the votes of that party. On the same principle they oppose anything and every arrangement that goes to place things on a just and proper footing, or that is calculated to counteract fraud and rascality. In all cases, in all arrangements, and in every movement of that party, the first question that occurs to the designing leaders of it is, how they can overreach their opponents. If they have not a majority that they can count on, in the ordinary drilling and marshalling in of their adherents, they look out for aid from other places; or an increase of their strength by some trick, some bribery, or falsity: such as will create new votes, bring them from other places, or induce some to join them from the other party. They often wait until the day of the election, then come out with a huge lie, stating that the candidate in opposition had died suddenly, altered his opinions, or retracted his principles!! Were it not from a fear of the Irish, and a certainty of losing their votes, they would give a vote to free negroes.

The thing is virtually out. Never again will we have a Whig or an honest administration! The dominant party are too well drilled, and have organized in a way to use all the resources of the nation

to aid their elections. They use the public treasury, the public lands, all the offices and public patronage; and carry out to the letter the abominable doctrine, "that to the victors belong the spoils," most shamefully. None get an office but a minion of their party, and one who is loud, unprincipled, and thorough going for the cause. None have the handling and expending the public money, say \$40,000,000 in the Federal government, and as much in the States individually, but the leaders and their minions. None that have a little honesty, and wish to think and act for themselves, although of the party, can get an office, because they thus dare and will not be dictated to in every thing. Twenty thousand office holders belonging to the party—twenty thousand post-masters, with the right to a frank, and which has been used all the time for the party, can't fail to influence all, give circulation to all lies, and infamous plans, and tricks, and control the elections. The office holders, including these postmasters, and the foreign votes not legally entitled, carried the last election, when Mr. Clay was a candidate against Mr. Polk. A small calculation demonstrates it. When we add the activity, bribery, the \$200,000 tax raised on office holders, the 1000 corrupt presses paid by those in office out of the public monies, and the corrupt employment of the public money to carry false voters to the places where they most count, and are most wanted, under pretext of their being employed, the thing is rendered certain.

The whig party the last time ran Mr. Clay under the most favorable auspices—when the great policies of the nation, which he advocated, stood prominent, and were seen by all, and their necessity felt

by all—when he was acknowledged to be honest and talented, and the best interests of the country evidently dependent upon him and his party—when the Whigs had much of the sympathy of the nation, from the flagrant treason practiced upon them by John Tyler. Under all these advantages, Mr. Clay lost his election, and was beat by a man without talents, honesty, prudence or consistency. Never again will the Whigs make such an effort; never again will drooping patriotism come forth into power and usefulness. They now give up the ship and await the catastrophe that impends over the country. They cannot enter the fields of filth, and dirt, and blackguardism, and bribery, and low intrigue, and violence, so as to hope to cope with this general suffrage, this foul organization, so fearfully arrayed against them and their country. The dominant party are now engaged in trying to bring on a war with England and Mexico, hoping to have a wider field then for undue influences and stealages; and utterly regardless of the country, its best interests and great policies, and honor, would compromit all. They add injustice, and low grovelling intrigue, and dishonor, to their other qualities, and carry them into their intercourse with foreign nations, and their grasping demands of them, will certainly provoke a war. A war, besides costing us \$200,000,000, getting many of our towns and cities knocked down, destroying all of our commerce and great staples, and demoralizing and killing hundreds of thousands of our citizens, and deranging every department of prosperity, will lead to a disruption of these States, and end in a dissolution of the Confederation!

It is a certain fact, that a war with Mexico will cost the Union \$200,000,000, and will result in a disruption of the Union.

CHAPTER VII.

PARTY SPIRIT.

This appertains to all nations, is inherent in the very nature of governments, and can be kept quiet and harmless only by a proper strength and balance in them. In the United States it is the monster that rudely and ruthlessly walks forth, trampling upon every thing sacred, and polluting every thing pure and proper; without patriotism to soften it, or a strong government to restrain its coarseness and slang and with inbred indecency, drives the just, the intelligent and patriotic from all field of action with the government. Thus the great interests of the nation, the sacred rights of the people, the importance of the Union itself, which it estimates in dollars and cents, are left in the dirty clutches of this monster. Party spirit in these United States, not only has no dread of any force to stay its hands, or punish its acts of violence, but finds nothing sacred, nothing venerable, nothing dignified and imposing in the central government to respect. On the contrary, finds a ready echo and support in its authorities, who have been placed in all the high offices of the Union by its action, and who applaud its acts and reward them with new offices, calling for more expenditures.

A short history of party spirit in the United States will be instructive, and show how little the Union has to hope, and how much to dread from it. When the States established their independence, they were so much astonished at the result

that they for some years threw themselves into each other's arms, and existed on sympathy and mutual congratulations. Soon, however, these factitious bands became relaxed, and weakened by time, and our foreign commerce and relations all suffered confusion for the want of some central controlling power to meet the emergency. It became so evidently necessary, that on the suggestion of Gen. Washington, who still lived, a Convention of the States met to form a Constitution and more efficient government. They came together in their sovereign capacity, from which no influence could induce them to depart, and Alex. Hamilton and other wise patriots soon found that there was no hope of a strong central power, and adopted the present constitution as all that was practicable in that condition of the States, or sovereigns, as they were justly called.

Soon after the ratification and practical existence of this constitution took effect, there sprung up two great parties. The one went for construing that instrument in a way to give efficiency to the central government or confederation, and called themselves Federalists from that circumstance;—the other calling itself at first Republicans, went for the power of the States and for the people through the States, in contradistinction to the central or confederated government. The Federalists wished to render the central power strong enough to keep down popular tumult, insure order, and cause itself to be respected at home and abroad. The Republicans aimed to restrict the Federal government, confine its powers not only to the letter of the constitution, but as I shall hereafter show, even less,

and build up the States at its expense. The elder Adams being then President, espoused the side of the liberal construction in favor of Federal power. This occasioned such a clamor in the democratic journals, the electioneering campaigns and primary assemblies of the States, that much intemperate language and disorder threatened the country. He very imprudently recommended a sedition law, as the thing best calculated to check this state of things. This injudicious law passed, and filled the jails with the seditious, but gave a great handle to the other party to strengthen themselves against him and his administration. Thomas Jefferson, his rival for office, availed himself of this imprudent law to place himself at the head of the Republican party, and build himself up over his rival. As soon as he succeeded in office, he went for the most rigid construction of the Federal constitution; allowed the central government but little power; made it a creature of the States literally, not only as to its existence, but control. He made a party watch-word of the clause in that instrument, "that all the powers not herein granted are retained by the States." This was true in itself, but not to the extent that his party carried it, who denied to it even the implied powers, such as became necessary to carry out its provisions, and such as were indispensable to its preservation and existence.

The Democratic party cast themselves on a wide sea, and claimed that the States that created must construe and correct all the acts of the central power; not only in the way pointed out by the constitution, but by any manifestation of public opinion that the States might make. Therefore, in

1796, the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia being more immediately under the influence of Jefferson, undertook to censure and control the Federal government, and denied to the Federal court the right to construe the Constitution in any case where a State was interested, or where a party act was called in question. From that time the arm of the Federal court became nerveless, and without the power to enforce its decrees, if against party or States, and fell almost into contempt. Thomas Jefferson, in order to insure his own election, strengthen his party, and perpetuate their existence, preached up universal suffrage, and carried it to the baneful extent that we have stated in the last chapter; and which will do the work of ruin, and make a finish of this confederation, when the population condenses and more favors its action.

The Republican, Democratic or Loco-foco party, under all of these names, has existed ever since its organization under Jefferson, and has continually gained in strength and power by establishing itself on the broad and corrupt basis of universal suffrage, which it has created for its own security and use, and which it preserves with a tenacity that lets nothing of it go. It rings through all the changes, popular rights, State rights, anti-tariff dogmas, and goes wherever a question can be made against the central government. It uses the offices and funds, both State and Federal, to reward its votaries; and on the unblushing and tyrannical principle that to the victors belong the spoils, appropriates for selfish and corrupt purposes the whole resources of the nation, thus totally divesting them from the great purposes for which they were intended, the pro-

motion of national prosperity, national honor and glory.

This party, occupying the lower level, with all its activity, intrigue and bribery, having at its disposal the resources of the nation, the most of the presses, and stopping at nothing to carry its points, has intrenched itself so firmly that nothing can dislodge it from popular favor. The opposite party, embodying the intelligence, substance, and respectability of the country, which always are a minority where the rabble are counted, have more honesty, more patriotism, and descend to fewer low and unworthy means to carry their measures. Hence they are thrown out, and can do nothing for the country. They feel for the honor, prosperity, and respectability of the central power, without the ability to serve it or prevent degrading and ruinous measures.

There is no difference of opinion allowed to exist in the democratic party, all are gathered in, and are taught to either have no private opinions or yield them up to party. They are drilled and whipped in until they form a unit, a solid phalanx—can count before hand votes, and calculate their strength mathematically. Hence they become irresistible, and control all the departments of government. Conscience is laid asleep, and never supposed to exist in any case where a party vote is called for; and the only question that is asked is, whether it is a party measure? Or is he the candidate or criminal, as the case may be, of our party? Not is he qualified, or is he guilty or is he innocent?

The Constitution provides for the impeachment

of the high officers of the government, in case of corruption, misdemeanor in office, or any dereliction of duty. This is a vain and useless provision, for the officer is generally put in by the prevailing party, and no matter how flagrantly he acts, the party will not even vote an impeachment against him, or if impeached would, and do always acquit him—hence he feels ever intrenched behind his party. In the fierce and violent contests that go on in connection with the elections, murder most foul is often committed; but the murderer is sure to escape by having a judge of his party, or some of the jurymen. When an officer is retained in office years after the President knows of his defalcations—when a President of the United States openly violated the Constitution, by secreting bills or laws actually passed and sent up to him—when he refused to make his nominations to the Senate, the legitimate power to act on them, because he knew that body was opposed to him or his favorite candidate, and waited until it adjourned before he made them—when an unworthy nominee to office has been rejected by the Senate, and the President has waited until that body adjourned, and then re-appointed said minion to that or some better office, and many other such acts of tyranny and constitutional violation have occurred, the Whigs have been obliged to look on, and could not get an impeachment voted, because party supported their own President or officer. Thus this unprincipled party spirit enters into and defeats, or shields or contaminates, as the case may be, every department of the government, even the judiciary, that ought to be sacred.

The Democratic party not only claims to construe the Constitution of the United States and all the laws enacted, but does not hesitate to violate contracts, not only when the States or Federal government are concerned, but individuals. It stays execution in the local legislatures, suspends the courts, values property, and obliges the creditors to take it at valuation for their debts, or go unpaid; and the valuation, by interested persons, is sure to be so high that the creditor cannot take it. Three States under a democratic vote, have repudiated their public debt; many other States pay neither principal or interest, nor make the proper effort to do so. Some say the act of one Legislature, or solemn act of a State or government, does not bind the succeeding legislatures; and that in no case, not even though created to defend their very existence, is posterity bound for the debt or obligation. That party often acts against vested rights, and does not hesitate to take away charters, if in their way; or, if thereby they gain popularity. All the individuals of that party do not go such disorganizing lengths—some stop short of actual violence and injustice, because they have some property, and fear the consequences of the example. Other assumptions and other doctrines of a more specific character, have grown out of this thorough going action of the Democratic party, and are a legitimate part thereof. I mean the doctrine of State rights in extenso; the right to nullify any law of the central government, even by one State; the right to secede from the Union, and stand aside until their wishes, however absurd, be recognized and allowed. South Carolina, with J. C. Calhoun

at her head, voted that an act of Congress laying duties was void, and that they would nullify it as far as regarded them, and still be a member of the Union. J. Hamilton, their Governor, induced an importation of goods, to test whether the Federal officers dared notice them, or collect the duty off them.

The old and proud and wise State of Virginia, under democratic rule, claims to secede from the Union, whenever she pleases, and return again into her bosom if she chooses. The Federal government becomes paralyzed in such cases, and thus far has yielded to the State or States, and thereby preserved its worthless and inefficient confederation. In the loose and careless legislation that annually occurs, and under the strong excitement of party, cases will soon arise, must arise, when these ultra doctrines of nullification, secession, or some other equally absurd, will really put an end to this confederation—when this compact, as they call it, will be dissolved, and each partner thereto will withdraw and claim his part in the concern. This abstract thing, this creature of the States or what is worse of party, called the Federal power; this government that now exists by accident or forbearance only, cannot endure under all this corruption, violence, misconstruction, party ambition and individual interest, that invade it so ruthlessly, and respect it so little. What philosopher or politician would, for any premium, under-write such an existence, and take such a risk! We, therefore, see too clearly that every department of government, every principle of justice, every duty imposed for the correction of public delinquent offi

cers, or private criminals, as well as all the best interests and policies of the nation, are not only interfered with, but defeated and prevented by the abominable spirit of party.

To conciliate the Irish, who vote heavily at all the elections, the democrats have got up meetings to aid the O'Connel repeal question in Ireland, and have actually raised and sent out large sums of money to that demagogue. So little delicacy or courtesy had even the head of the Federal government, that the son of the President has not only presided over and made speeches at these meetings, but on those occasions abused England and her government in the coarsest slang of a blackguard. As far as Irish influence goes (and it is paramount in some of the States,) the democratic party that cherish it, are determined to get up a war with England under some pretext or other. The Oregon territory is about to be organized by that party under a hope that it will involve the necessity of a war with England, and Texas is about to be seized upon with the same view.

The action of this party, most to be regretted by a high-minded patriot, is the grovelling and low character that it imparts to the Federal government, which is severely felt in all its intercourse with foreign nations. That party sends out ministers and agents without manners, delicacy or cultivation, to represent them at foreign courts, and often scenes occur unworthy of any people pretending to civilization and refinement. The Democratic or loco-foco party, conceives and utters a fixed hatred against England in particular, and intends as soon as they fully establish their power, to

get up a war against that country. They aid the O'Connel sedition with that view, and take all possible steps at home to set the country against England. If any disturbance occurs in Canada, they espouse it, and rush there to get the province so engaged and the United States so compromised as to aid Canada, or lead on a war. They aim to seize Oregon and Texas with the same view.— Wars should be entered into when necessary to secure some great interest, establish some right or some principle, or vindicate the national honor; not to gratify the low and vengeful feelings of a party; not particularly to gratify malice, or conciliate a worthless class of voters such as the Irish immigrants. I will venture a prophecy, however, that the next war waged by this confederation (if she exists long enough) will be got up to gratify party spirit, for party revenge and party interest. In no country on earth has party appeared so well organized, so completely drilled and whipped into the ranks. No individual scarcely of the Democratic party, ever dare depart from the order, or wishes, or plans of the party. Right or wrong, national or not, however grovelling and degrading, although calculated to let down the nation into the dust, paralyze the industry of the country, or destroy her best resources; yet if party speaks all must be thrown to the four winds, and her rash, selfish and dictatorial voice obeyed. Like the reckless voice of the Athenian partizan who said, regardless of Demosthenes' warnings, let the Macedonian come rather than submit to the proud patriotism of a Phocion.

When the Whigs, or the opposing party offers

any measure, no matter how important and necessary to the nation, or how essential to her prosperity and honor, the Locos are sure to oppose it, and pass the word down to their party adherents and hireling presses, to open their batteries upon the measure, and the whole pack utter a cry simultaneously and make the alarm. It being a Whig or Federal measure, is enough. If Henry Clay, or John Q. Adams, or Daniel Webster move it, it is sure to be opposed by the whole party, without discussion, calculation, or reason. If Henry Clay sees in the public lands a continual subject of excitement and confusion, and offers to divide them out among the States, to enable them to pay their debts or educate their ignorant citizens, it is violently opposed, merely because it is not their measure. They immediately find it unconstitutional to give away the national domain, although their States would be vastly benefitted by it, and although they may be in debt more than they can pay, be dishonored by failing to pay taxes to meet interest, and although several of them had repudiated their debts to their eternal disgrace and that of the nation to which they belong. Before this measure was proposed by the Whigs, the Locos preached up continually that the public lands were the property of the States, and based much of their electioneering movement on that fact, and now intend, some day, to seize on them for the emolument of their States and party. When the currency was all in confusion, and no one knew on what to count or what value to give to any piece of property, and Henry Clay proposed a National Bank as the proper corrective, it was violently op-

posed by the Locos because their opponents moved it; although they had seen by experience that such an institution on a former occasion did correct such and similar derangement in the currency and values. When the same men and party proposed Internal improvements, that would absorb a surplus revenue, insure the development of the country, the certain arrival and delivery of the mails, and the proper intercourse between the very scattered parts of this nation, and facilitate all army movements, the Locos violently opposed it; alleging its unconstitutional character, that it would *endanger liberty* and ruin the country. They opposed it because it was a Federal or Whig measure; because it would carry light and information to the dark and benighted parts of the Union, now wrapped up in the woods, and cut off by mire and flood from all influential intercourse with the more enlightened portions of the population; and because a great deal of credit would redound to the party who removed such mountains. The word passed down, and the voice of opposition was heard from the woods, and mud, places, where no light shined, no mail arrived, no facility to wealth and commerce ever appeared.

The fact is, the leaders of the Loco-foco party do not wish to have one third of the population now in the woods, prairies and mud, brought into the full light of day, the beneficial influences of commerce and inter-communications, lest they lose their hold on them; lest they become too enlightened to be controlled by an unworthy party, and learn to see where their interest is, and who are their friends. Now like the tyrant who keeps his

ward in prison, or in some remote place, they keep the people in ignorance, knowing that they can feed them with their own sort of food in their own way, and make them feel all the time they are dependant upon them, and that they are the real friends who befriend and support them. When Clay and the Whigs propose a Tariff, calculated to foster commerce, industry, develop national resources, establish the independence and comfort of the nation and enrich it, the Locos oppose it; merely because moved by their opponents. They opposed it because their friends, many of them, lived in the woods and mud, and were kept below all national views, and knew not and cared not whence the goods came that they consumed.— Another portion in the South raised the raw staples, and were taught to believe that Europe would not take them, unless they opposed a Tariff. Thus the noble minded planters were lulled and none took time to examine the ground they stood upon. Another portion were commercial, and led to believe that *they* would suffer if manufacturers were encouraged, which showed also that they did not reflect and examine. The greatest portion, however, were engaged in growing provisions, and which became depressed by their own overdone action. They were told it was all because of the tariff, when a child might have seen that the contrary was the fact, and that a home market would have done much for them.

The English seeing the party that hated them take the ground that so much favored their interests, smiled in their sleeves, and got up two hundred thousand pounds in England to write tracts, send

out agents, and bribe many editors, particularly some in New York, to support the policy and spread the idea as much as possible. They put popular slang arguments in the mouths of the Democrats, such as "buy where you can cheapest;" "tax not one portion for the benefit of another;" "free trade;" "have your work-shops abroad;" and all such slang, and rang them through all possible changes. These, coming from a party that hated England, served to clinch with their adherents the policy, and fix all the party against the tariff. Now one third of the people are idle, and produce nothing; or worse still, more overdoing and clogging the provision and staple productions. The nation, for want of a tariff, realizes no capital, spends its last dollar in supplying articles not only of luxury but necessity, from abroad, and is now in debt three hundred million dollars for balances against her country, her State bonds, all of which went for such goods as she might have made. When the Whigs wished to establish at Washington city a University, a gallery, a botanic garden, monuments of the arts and of national acts, and whatever might cultivate the higher national feelings, render us better patriots, and make us proud of our country, the Locos opposed it, because it tended to make and keep us a nation, as well as because their opponents moved it. They knew if any thing fastened upon the public mind and made them proud of the nation, that exactly in that proportion would they lose their hold on and influence with the people; for in the exact proportion that a State or settlement is ignorant, benighted, out of the way of light and information, does their influ-

ence prevail and does it become fastened upon them, and they secured to their party. All light, all high patriotic sentiments, therefore, are warred upon by that party, and furnish motives enough to them to oppose any measure.

When a party, the Federalists, for instance, wish to build up the Central Government, and render it efficient and respectable, Jefferson and his party, (now the Locos,) opposed it vehemently, for they knew if a strong and efficient government should be established, they and all their base plans would be defeated. To prevent it they aroused the State governments against the Federal, made the States move en masse, resolve against it, withhold their support to its measures, and lay claim to most of the powers legitimately belonging to it. They built up the horrid doctrines of State rights, nullification, secession, Federal usurpation and consolidation as counteracting principles or humbugs, to alarm the people and paralyze the movements of the Federal power. All these doctrines, sure enough, had the effect of destroying that power and placing the States in the high places where it alone should have presided. From that time we had no nation, but an unprincipled party instead. From that time all patriotism became extinct, all high and noble sentiments of love of country, and a pride in her thrift, honor and prosperity ceased, and had no longer an existence. We became grovelling, selfish, mean, and low, and base in all our policies. We have time-served it ever since, and either followed or counteracted this vile party as well as we could. A general suffrage, which we have so fully exposed in the preceding chapter, followed as one of their measures and put

an end to all hopes, to all expectations for our country and its prospects. The Federal government now is a thing of chance—a giant with its limbs shackled, lying prostrate, and a prey to the pitiful State influences. Europe looks on and smiles, for she sees an end of all the visions so vainly held up: an end to the best hopes of the human family; and of the principles of human liberty. Now, the Federal government has to consult a State before she makes a treaty—before she can pardon a foreign subject, move in her nominal and doubtful powers, or lay claim to any policy.

The States thunder forth their orders through their Representatives and Senators in Congress, and dictate, by such instructions, in all cases and upon all the policies of the country. A Senator reads in his place resolutions of his State declaratory of her views, and ending in instructions, and the Central power trembles and obeys. A Representative has only to say that his State opposes a measure, to put a stop to it and shame the Federal government who was moving it. No matter what he proposed, the question is, what does Mrs. Grundy think of this? or say to this? meaning the States, and it is straightway recognized. The Federal power now is nothing but a court of registry for the dicta of the States, and a very awkward one it is; or a milch kine for those who want money, or a sop. A party so unprincipled and selfish as the Loco, whose members are so strong and clearly marked, and separated from the other or the nation, who move in solid column with all their machinery of design and party, must destroy this Union, and break up this disjointed confederation. It could do it at any time; but, as I have

said, it is not its interest to do it, because they do not wish to rip up the goose. If this government, or confederation, come to a disruption soon, it will be in consequence of their principles, not with their design or intention. Their aim is only to cripple the giant and lay it so prostrate that they can manage it for the use and emolument of their party. They may be like the quack, who prostrates his patient, in order to show his skill in curing it, so low that he fails to restore him to action; or render its acts like those of the galvanized subject whose caperings are a horrid mockery of life. All this party organization and meddling may go too far before they pause to reflect enough on the effect thereof upon the country. When the Irish, the Dorrites, the Native Americans, commence this war upon property and human life, the party either join in, or stand aloof, and cry well done; and after the act of violence and murder be over, never fail to justify it and find excuses for it, because they dare not do otherwise consistently with their own principles and constant policy.

The dominant, or Locofoco party, now, as we have said, is so steeped in corruption, so utterly unprincipled, so drilled, whipped in and amalgamated into a unit, that they have, as we see, got possession of the country and all its resources. They have appropriated all the money, and all the offices, as rewards to their party, and its aiders and abettors; and profess to be governed by their own interest, instead of feelings of patriotism. They narrow down all policies and measures to fit and subserve their party, instead of looking to, or caring about, the national character of them, or whether they will advance the

nation's prosperity and honor. Instead of rising up to the high places of the government and seating themselves proudly upon her lofty character and great interests, they have brought down the government to the low level, the dirt, and filth, and corruption that they stood on and worked in. They have brought down the noble quarry, and like the vultures of carrion, set around and devour its very flesh, and drink its blood. President Polk, with all the weakness of a schoolboy, with all the indelicacy of an unprincipled party tool, with all the coarseness of a slang-whanger at an ale-house meeting, in his inaugural, denounced England, asserted his determination to oppose her right to Oregon, although it is perhaps one of the most doubtful rights and delicate questions now in the political world. He did this out of place, uncalled for, calculated to compromit, and from low, grovelling, inbred coarseness. Can a nation be safe in such reckless and unguarded hands? Are our great interests and national character and honor to find protection in such incompetent hands, and be cherished by such unheard of want of courtesy and sound policy? Most of the agents and ministers sent abroad are of the same coarse and uncultivated school; and either misrepresent us abroad, or carry insult into all of our foreign relations. Under such a course this nation will be run down as a pirate would, and abated or warred upon as a nuisance. We will lose all our honor, all our character, and compromit all of our dearest interests.

A recklessness characterizes the dominant party in this country that never seems to look forward to results, cares nothing for consequences, and estimates

neither our interests nor our means of defence. An arrogance, too, that shows equally a total disregard of the rights of other nations; witness our operation in the cases of Texas and Oregon—and, I will add, an injustice which ought not to attach upon a Republic, is manifest in our conduct towards Mexico particularly, and England as far as we dare. A party thus devoid of all principle is a most unsafe guardian for our national concerns, and furnishes no guaranty for our rights and for the safety of our existing interests. The days of chivalry are over, and for our coarse and uncouth party, because it is seated, by its own corrupt and unprincipled practices, in the chair of Washington, to be pretending to espouse the cause of oppressed Ireland, of suffering Texas, and to imagine rights in the moon and on the Pacific ocean, and go to war for them, thus compromising all that we have gained by our revolution and long course of commercial and agricultural industry, is highly ridiculous as well as ruinous. Our dominant party should reflect that the eyes of all mankind are upon this country—all regard it as the best, if not the last, hope of liberty, and an experiment that ought to be sacredly and conscientiously carried out and made to avail. It is as possible, and it is put all to jeopardy for nothing, or worse than nothing. We are about selling our birth-right for a pottage under these unworthy trustees. A perseverance in such courses and feelings will assuredly lead to a disruption of this Union, and that very soon; for the parts of this Union lifted above such a field of action.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESSES AND JOURNALS.

Of all the fields of corruption and filth and organized slander and blackguardism in the world, this is the greatest. The fifteen hundred papers and journals, daily and weekly, not only published but pushed into circulation in every possible way, and through every dirty channel, are enough to corrupt the whole world, much less the fifteen million of whites in the United States. They deal in lies and slander, and slang ribaldry, until truth is a stranger to them, delicacy unknown, and an attempt at decency would be unnatural. Not more than one third of the whole have any regard to character, any pretensions to decency, or on which you might depend for truth, facts, and patriotic views. Party is their first aim, which they are ever laboring to whitewash, and by falsities place in fair light. Next their venom is all husbanded for their opponents, which they use in their bites of malice until the whole community are in a fester and livid with their dirty saliva. The only trainings these editors have, are in lies and reproaches; their only notions of politics one sided, and as party points; and are utter strangers to delicacy; they respect nothing sacred or any thing pure and good. Those who conduct them are raked up from the very dregs of society, and selected by party pretty much as an assassin would select the fellow to do his foul and dark deed.

Party must know their man, before they will

tax themselves with the press and its establishment. They know he will lie for them, asperse for them, often fight for them, (for they will prefer a bully to a coward,) and do all the active running out door dirty work, and whipping in of their faction. Do the patriots entrench themselves behind the Constitution? all the batteries of the press are opened upon that instrument, until it be riddled. Do the lovers of their country pass some law to secure its best interests or effectuate its sterling policies? these presses attack such a law and such policy, until the good honest ignorant people think it all wrong, and that unless it be repealed or changed the country is ruined. These editors have the art of conveying their vile budgets to every point, and distributing them every where. There being no roads, no bridges, or travelling facilities, is nothing to them, it is what they prefer indeed; for their thorough going activity would over-leap these difficulties, (being used to mud and dirt) and get at the ignorant, when the more decent and honest would be stopped. What these presses fail to accomplish by lies and perversions, they make up in noise, zealous clamour and unqualified assertions. Round and positive statements or lies, without any shame, blushing, or hesitation, have a great effect on the unpractised. Mankind, in the mass, are honestly inclined, and have no idea that any beings can exist, who are barefaced and hardened enough to lie in the positive unblushing way in daily use. The ignorant and honest hearted, who live in the woods, in the country, on the frontiers, or out of the way of light and information, are sought for by these designing rascals, and operated upon by

broad noisy assertions, and a bold and shameless manner of lying, giving a one sided and garbled view of the subject, until such persons are prevailed on to support their cause or party. The honest patriot leaves every man to form his own opinion, leaning on the purity of his motives, the justice of his cause, and soundness of the policy in question. To his surprise, however, on the day of election, when the votes of the people are to sanction the measure, and while he is looking for a triumphant majority, he sees all his good ignorant neighbors trotted up to the polls by these active, reckless, and unprincipled editors, and the party that puts them forward, and the measure his heart was set upon lost forever.

I would suppose that not more than one-tenth of the population are corrupt enough to be bribed by money, or induced by hopes of office or its crumbs. Of the remaining nine-tenths more than half are too ignorant to have opinions of their own, and look to be guided by some one or some party. The active and designing with their phalanx of presses and editors, with ever ready civility as far as personal attention and treating goes, and ever ready assertions in their bold unqualified way, assail them with lies and far-fetched perversions of the motives of their opponents, and in a broad mysterious way run out consequences not at all appertaining to the measure proposed. Thus they carry their elections and all their measures, to the imminent hazard of the institutions of the country, and its character for wisdom, good faith and honor. How can we expect ignorant people, however honest, to discuss measures and form correct opinions of them? The

depend for their information on all questions of policy, and of the qualifications of candidates, upon some one or some party. The party, therefore, that finds them out, leaves with them all sorts of printed statements and declarations, budgets of newspapers, lying certificates, and made up party stories, which will control them, and does secure their vote. Some writer, well acquainted with mankind, asserts, that if he had the writing of the ballads that people sing, he could govern them and through them the country. He knew nothing then of the influence of newspapers and presses, or he would infinitely have preferred to wield them, and much easier would he have controlled and governed. The thing is reduced to a certainty, that a given capital employed in buying up a majority of the presses, directing them, and supplying their matter by the aid of engrossed editors, will secure the elections and control all the institutions and resources of the country. The outlay of capital necessary to this monopoly is but small, and will be reimbursed with tenfold interest and profit by the operation itself. Independently of the personal consideration it gives to the members of the party in power, it secures to them all the revenues and resources of the nation. All the high and profitable offices are at the disposal of the dominant party, and a thousand smaller offices with which to reward its minions, buy up presses, and enrich all concerned by the abuse of these offices and perversion of these revenues. The tax therefore, that a party has to pay to keep up this warfare upon the worth and best interests of the country and engross them, is really no tax at all, but a rich source of profit from an actual investment, in a pe-

cuniary point of view, and a sure guarantee of party influence and individual power and consideration. It not only gives back the principal and all this profit and influence, but secures forever their dominion, and the existence of this great political bank on which to draw for dividends, without having paid anything upon their stock. It is not a pleasant calculation, however, to show this by figures, and by this political arithmetic that the rights of the people are in the market, and can be calculated in dollars and cents. It is a melancholy reflection, one very grating to a philanthropist and patriot to know and feel, that after all the guards thrown around the shrine of liberty, the unprincipled and the ignorant coming together by this activity of the press and the inducements of office, can and do monopolize the whole political power and resources of the nation. That no constitution, or previous declaration of rights, can check the speculation, or stay the result. That the representative principle, the only possible guarantee of liberty, can be put in requisition by this unprincipled combination to subserve such a base prostitution of liberty's franchises.

The party that makes use of the presses to secure its influence, takes care to extend the right of suffrage to the utmost extent, and thus form a broader basis for the action of this great engine, and enable them to herd together at the polls a greater mass of people, to be acted on by each other's sympathies factitiously enlisted. The still small voice of reason might be heard in a small crowd of men though ignorant—but when the wide field of popular sympathy throws up its waves and scum, it acts under the impulses that put it in motion, and cannot be

controlled. Nothing but a restriction of the elective franchise, that confines it to the substance and property of the country and educated electors, can countervail the activity of demagogues and this corruption of the press. The United States have neither of these safeguards; the elective franchise is gone forever, or too much defiled to be available, and education can never embrace a scattered population without substance, without character, and without even fixed residences, such as now control the elections. Had the United States a fund large enough to educate the whole mass of her people, you could not induce them into the schools by any arrangement; their unsettled habits forbid it. The fund, too, would be used up by demagogues, and present another prize to the grasp of the ruling party, which they would be sure to appropriate, as they have all others.

Very few editors in the United States have any literary cultivation or refinement of taste. They rarely aid science by presenting subjects of general interest that go to instruct their readers. They are indiscriminate in their selections, for the want of taste to choose or judgment to guide them. They have read men only, and that the worst side and worst class of men; but books rarely, and what books they do read are without weight or worth. They are needy and without character, hence are bought up and made into tools. They hang loosely upon society, and would gain more by the wreck of a country than its prosperity. They study the language of party; their vocabulary is made up of the jottings of demagogues and ale house slang. They take for watch words, and try to make the

ignorant believe that all high minded independent men are unfriendly to liberty, all rich men are aristocrats, all modest retiring men selfish and miserly, all sober men mean and contracted, and all educated and cultivated men proud and holding contempt for the ignorant. By this sort of slang they manage to make a clean separation between the classes of society, and destroy all confidence among them. When they shall have arrayed the ignorant against the intelligent, the poor against the rich, and the coarse and uncultivated against the educated and refined, they enter the field, take possession of the ignorant, the poor and uncultivated, without check or hindrance, and set upon them the mark of their party, and then by an assumed civility and an apparent anxiety for their welfare, gather them up to the polls and control the elections. No system of military tactics or school discipline is more effectual in marshalling their soldiers or pupils, and moving them to the general word of command, than these presses in drilling and teaching the ignorant and parading them at the polls—no azelong movement, no flying artillery nor light infantry can so quickly invest the enemy as these cunning, active editors do the ballot boxes with their brigades of voters. Nothing is wanting to this corps-editorial to give it efficiency. It has already carried all, grasped all, and will hold all, for its emolument and that of its party. It has nothing to do now but enjoy its triumph, and share with its party the loaves and fishes. The property of the country, if not divided out on the agrarian principle, will be the goose that lays the golden eggs, or rather the subjects that furnish to these leeches their blood to suck all the time, and the intelligent,

together with the cultivated, be scouted by them.

National glory lies altogether above their comprehension, and national honor something they have never had the least sympathy with. Those great policies that go to enrich a nation, advance her character, and place her permanently on the vantage ground, are too liberal and elevated for their views, or to be easily explained or understood by the ignorant that they have to direct. The style and language of most of these presses debase the English language, and abuse the mother tongue as much as they do the morals and politics of the nation. How can people be elevated in their language when such low slang is continually spread before them? How can they be moral, when all the vices connected with politics are held up as something smart and clever? How can they be delicate in their sentiments and feelings, when they are daily outraged and shocked? How can the mass of the people ever embrace the high policies and great interests of the nation, when the only teachings they have are party movements and intrigues, and the narrow selfish views of the designing? How can national glory ever illuminate the ignorant, or national honor ever be estimated by them, when their minds are filled and imbued with all the grovelling low cunning measures of party? How can the people be honest, when virtue and goodness and simple heartedness are laughed at, and intrigue and design leaned upon and placed above them? There is no surer way to debase and bring down a population to bad language, to mean and grovelling ideas and selfish feelings, than such an organization of the press under party influence.

Much depends on the first impulses a nation

springs into existence under, on the first impression she receives, to ensure her an honorable standing in the world. If she establishes her independence by heroic deeds, by a bold and determined course, and receives at the start the impress of honor and elevated views, and inhales the aspirations of glory, she will long maintain such a character. It requires a long time for party, aided by all the presses and means in its power to wear off such distinctive characters, and in their place stamp its own baseness and grovelling, narrow meanness. The United States did start under very favorable auspices. She won her independence manfully and heroically. She received the congratulations of all the world, and had none of these unworthy feelings, or committed unworthy acts, until the general suffrage and corrupt presses defiled her virgin purity, and sullied her bright escutcheon of honor. Then she lost all her guarantees of high and correct conduct, and under the general suffrage spread over her by the designs of that party, sank to the level of her new electors, and came under their control.

In England and all other civilized countries, the presses have some regard to decency in their language, and are cautious in what they recommend. They have some fear of the government, and some responsibility in themselves. Libels are punished and slander noticed by the vigilance of the law. Virtue and correct conduct there have some protection; private worth is under the safeguard of the laws, and public officers cannot be assailed by lies, and improper or dishonest motives ascribed to them. The presses there are kept upon the higher levels, and have not only more character, but more useful-

ness. Their admonitions are listened to, and their teachings both in science, morals and politics, furnish aid and support to the population in all these, and are regarded and respected. In this country, as we have shown, the presses have no character, stand upon the lowest level of human depravity, and are not responsible for any language or any act. If you sue them in court for any libellous paragraphs and recover, you pay your costs for your pains, and find no responsibility. If you seize the person to imprison or punish, the party he acts with will prevent the sentence being carried out. In nine cases out of ten you could not convict an editor at all, because either the court or some jurymen are of his party, and can defeat it. Virtue, therefore, must live under the incessant attack of some press of the opposition. A politician must all the time submit to have his motives questioned and his acts misrepresented, and the country all the time submit to be guided into whatever dirty channel they choose to conduct it, until all respectable merit and well educated men cease to be candidates at all. There is no correction, no balm in Gilead for this evil, no remedy for the cancer that is eating the very vitals. The only palliative to the disease, is the fact that these corrupt and designing presses over act, and cheapen themselves. Their lies are too plain, their designs too easily understood, and their plans too manifest. Not only the intelligence of the country sees through them, but in many cases the very ignorant they count on leading, open their eyes, and see the dirt around them, the mire before them, and become mulish. This saves the country from total ruin, and obliges them to stop short, retrace and wipe out

some of their foulest steps, and practice for a moment patriotism and virtue, as well as wear their livery and put on their semblance.

It is characteristic of party and their presses in the United States, to drop below the level of the very commonest people and the most ignorant. They, if let alone, or where these designing knaves first find them, have some aspirations of virtue and some pure feelings of patriotism, which might be fostered into usefulness, but these designing demagogues and their presses soon efface it, or render it inoperative, by assuring them that they had better follow them and look to their own interests. They impress them with a belief that the rich, the intelligent, and the cultivated have an utter contempt for them, intend to make them slaves, or hewers of wood and drawers of water. That as they had secured for them a voice in the national councils, they had better come to the polls, and by their vote show these aristocrats that they can send their own delegates to Congress, make their own laws, take care of their own interests, and place the others at defiance.

Being thus arrayed against the worth and substance of the country, the separation becomes eternal; all confidence lost, all patronage eschewed, and the ignorant fall an easy prey into the hands of these rascals who use them for their own vile purposes. When the rich and the poor have confidence in each other, as we have said—when the intelligent can act on and enlighten the ignorant—when the wealthy can patronize the needy, and the refined impress their fine manners and taste upon the great mass, the country is happy; all the interests blend into some general and useful result, and

form an amalgamation that gives strength to the government as well as prosperity and quiet to the people. This would naturally take place, if not disturbed by the designing and dishonest. Wo betides the country, when angry jealousies are lit up between the rich and the poor, the intelligent and the ignorant ! All then is jeopardized ; property is unsafe, honor and glory eclipsed ; virtue has no place out of the pale of party action, and not only are all the rights of the citizens placed upon an uncertain footing, but all vested rights and interests taxed and cheapened ; a restless temporizing policy governs all. No permanent investments are made ; no national works erected that would reach posterity ; no persevering industry that would build up individual wealth, and develop the national resources. Presses such as we describe must contribute their full part to disunion, and welcome its approach, for they could gather more spoil out of the fragments than the integrity of the country. Their demoralizing the public sentiment, extinguishing all impressions of glory and honor among the people, debasing the language, narrowing the views and sinking the character of the great mass, would almost be self-sufficient to do the work of destruction to the body politic. And when you superadd the entire and complete separation it has wrought between the different classes of society, the destruction of all patronage and reciprocal action on each other, its effect upon the best interests of the country, particularly the Union, is most certain, for that is put to sale like all the other interests of the confederation.

The presses ought to feel themselves a part of

the country, and fully identified with its best interests. They ought to feel for the national honor and work for its prosperity. The moment, therefore, that they will sell themselves to party, or give up to party what was due to the nation or mankind, they become worse than open enemies; become assassins, and strike at the heart of their country in the secret way. Like Judas Iscariot, stand ready to betray her for thirty pieces of silver, or any thing offered. The presses ought to be the watch that stand on the high towers of the country, that look out and warn it of danger of the approaching enemy—not the traitor that betrays the watchword to the foe, and lets them into the very bosom of a reposing country. The presses might become the great monitors in a Lancasterian system of education, that would instruct all, and usher forth useful matter on all occasions, and build up in the minds of all, wholesome information and sound advice. Able suggestions might be made in agriculture and the arts, and many improvements be rendered familiar to all. Presses should keep pace with the advance of the world, these times of general improvement, amelioration and developement. To be lying, quibbling, subserving party misleading mankind, and aiming directly to build up a part at the expense of the whole, is unworthy of such a mighty power, a betrayal of such a sacred trust as must be considered consigned to them. The editor who stands ready to villify his own country, to lie for pay and for his party, to slander a pure patriot, falsify a record, garble a statement, and conceal facts known to him perhaps alone, is worse than a traitor, deserves the contempt of mankind, ought

to be scouted from all society, and left to perish amidst his own mean and unworthy thoughts and reflections.

To bribe most of the presses in any government, is no great undertaking, could be easily accomplished, and would not require much capital. Let us go into a little calculation in order to show how it could be done. There are two or three ways of taking up the presses, or a majority of them; one, the hopes of patronage; another, some office or promotion; and the last, money. There are about twelve hundred presses, worth so calling, in the United States. Not less than nine hundred of these are in the market, or, at least, not governed by motives of patriotism or love of country, and could be biassed or controlled were it made their interest. Of this nine hundred, one-half of the editors own them, but are effectually bribed by the patronage of their party, or the promise of some lucrative office within the gift of the party. The other half are owned by the party who purchased the presses and hired the editors. They select fellows tolerably smart, entirely unprincipled, ready in lying and inventing things for effect, and of a bullying disposition, or possessing some bravery, for they eschew cowards, and any that would show any scruples of conscience, or blush at their own or their party's depravity. These editors must be active and healthy, of good constitutions, able to go through rain and snow, mud and mire, swim rivers, convey budgets of intelligence over rivers, and through woods, and swear hard or make certificates, when wanted, to support any statement as if it were a fact. The editor must be something of an orator, and be able to write a paragraph, as well as tell a

lie, or certify to a statement. These editors, besides being paid, have the promise of office and the support of the party. In this way the most unprincipled party that ever any country was or could be cursed with, get along and carry their deep laid schemes against the government of the Union. The other party relying upon the honesty of their intentions, and the purity of their party, take no such steps. They make no such organization, and are utterly incapable of the unprincipled course which the others pursue. They leave all to the course of things, and find that they are thrown out, and their country betrayed and used up. If money enough were raised, as we said before, to directly bribe and buy up all or a great majority of the nine hundred presses, still it would not amount to a very great sum. At \$2,000 to the press and editor, the nine hundred would cost only about half a million, which could be easily raised on the certainty of being reimbursed; and, as we said, having all the offices and resources of the country out of which to do it, and possessing, moreover, the consideration which all the offices would give and the patronage of the government. Can the Union withstand such an organization, such corruption?

CHAPTER IX.

COMMERCE.

The commerce of the United States has heretofore enriched her people more, perhaps, than any other interest. Her long line of sea coast, the abundance

of her materials for ship building, the bulk of her productions, the extent and enterprize of her fisheries, all conspired to give her great skill and activity, as well as an abundance of tonnage in her foreign commerce. At first her readiness and despatch gave her the carrying trade for many colonies and countries; but soon other nations, seeing the profit thereof, forbid it, and did their own carrying. This branch of trade enriched her much, and the loss of it nearly involved her in wars with those nations. Her merchants pushed their commerce into every port, place or country, and in the face of all danger and rapacity, until losses were sustained that prostrated all their gains and ships, and compromitted them with the great belligerent nations of Europe. Thomas Jefferson, amongst his numerous visions, conceived an idea worthy of himself, that, inasmuch as commerce was likely to involve the nation in wars, as well as lose her citizens all their mercantile advantages or gains, it had better withdraw from the seas, and let foreign nations that wanted our produce, come to our own ports for it. This did not suit the views of our enterprizing merchants and sailors, and the plan failed.

Embargoes were next laid to carry out, in an indirect way, the same idea, and we literally cut off our own nose, if not to spite our own face, at least, to shock our enemies. All these remedies were but temporizing with the evil; and the outrages upon our trade continuing, and even increasing, the nation waged a long and expensive war with England, for the benefits of commerce alone. The war, therefore, with England, and early differences with France, were on account of this interest, and its un-

defined nature and enterprizing character will most likely involve us in other wars. Party spirit now, in the United States, has taken hold of this subject and made it a wide field of political difference, and one that joins in with all others to ultimately affect this Union. The Democratic party blend it with questions of the tariff, and go for free trade to the full extent, thus arraying against the tariff the whole force of commerce, and making its friends believe that its existence depends on defeating the American manufacturing interests. I consider this warfare, lit up by the designing politicians between these two great interests, very much to be deprecated, and fear that it will not only destroy domestic industry, but so much embitter party spirit as to aid the other causes of disunion.

A nation as commercial as the United States ought to be governed by calm, rational and fixed policies; for such a wide-spread interest will not bear, without loss and even destruction, those sudden, violent and factious measures that are intended to bear upon it and control it. No interest so widely and complicatedly connects us with foreign nations as our commerce. Already has it, as we stated, involved us in a long and expensive war with England. Already has it lost to our merchants much of their capital by the seizures upon it, and the wrongs and violences offered to it by foreign nations. Already have we seen it perish and renew itself more than once under the agitations and injustice of the world. Embargoes, blockades, and piracies deeply affect it; and under its action the difficult, exciting, and never to be ended questions of impressment and sailor's rights have sprung up, still remain unsettled, and,

along with the principle of free trade, enter deeply into party feeling in the United States.

Too many rights are incident to commerce, and too many interests are annually compromised by its multifarious operations, to enable us to hope that it will not involve us again abroad, agitate party spirit at home, and contribute its full part to disunion.

The Democratic party, in order to place commerce on certain fixed principles, and render its operations more regular and less exciting, conceived the great idea of reciprocity in trade; and to make it popular with the people, ring it through all its possible changes. Those nations that had their own ample tonnage, and were conscious of their power and resources, gave not into this principle of reciprocity; because they preferred to leave their tonnage unshackled and subject to any order they might wish to make in regard to it. The small, poor, and insignificant powers, however, such as Bremen, Hamburg, Denmark, Sweden, Sardinia, Tuscany, Brazil, and others, caught at the idea and entered into treaties with us providing for free tonnage particularly, and no port duties. These treaties were paraded to the American Congress, by the party that made them, as something wonderful—as carrying out a great principle, and as a mighty step towards free trade and commercial thrift. They did not understand their operation—had not commercial skill and interest enough to calculate them; for that party has but little to do with commerce, and touches it only with a view to their own emolument or party interest. How does this reciprocity principle operate? These little powers are poor, and have but little tonnage; but the rich commercial

nations, by some easy legerdemain of the custom house, slip their tonnage under their flags and enter clear of duties the ports of the United States. Sundry wharfs in the city of New York, are now taken up with Bremen vessels that formerly never saw a Bremen flag, and the same of other small States and powers. A familiar case will show this absurdity. A rich and poor man live in the same neighborhood. The poor man says to the rich one, let us reciprocate! When I see my friends do you lend me your plate, your servants and wines; and when you see your friends, and make your great parties, I will lend you my fixings: my buckhorn knives, split-bottom chairs, and pewter spoons. Is this reciprocity? The great interests, therefore, of the United States are in the hands of a party that does not, or cannot understand their operations; and instead of using them to enrich the nation, either abuse them from sheer ignorance, or prostrate them to party purposes. Frequently, too, they wield one great interest against another, such as commerce against manufactures, as we have showed, until both are impaired and ruined.

A very dangerous and designing action is going on against manufactures in an underhanded and indirect way, to aid commerce and further party influence. I mean the effort as lately showed in the treaty with the Zoll Verein of Germany. The object of which is to get over the popular vote of the lower house on the great changes the party aim to effect in the tariff, and which they have promised the South to effect in order to retain the South in their interest. The Senate are so constituted that the party can often wield that body in favor of their

corrupt plans, by bribery with office, getting up State instructions, or acting on them by districts or States, when they could not carry the popular branch. Lately they failed to prostrate the tariff by a popular vote of the lower house, and resorted to treaties with the Zoll Verein and other nations to accomplish indirectly what they fail to do directly and honestly, knowing that a treaty, when ratified by the President and Senate, becomes the law of the land and does away all acts of Congress on the subject. This injustice will produce a great excitement in this nation. It goes to prove that the dominant party, notwithstanding all their clamor and pretensions in favor of a popular vote, and the acts of majorities, are willing to dispense with them whenever their interest requires it, and resort to trick and indirect means of overreaching not only the country but their own obstinate friends. When a party is thus unprincipled, and willing to depart from all ordinary and honest courses to carry their objects, to sacrifice not only one of the greatest interests, that of manufactures to favor commerce, it shows us how deeply this interest we are speaking of, that of our commercial relations, enters into our national parties. It proves how it can not only involve us in wars and losses, influence parties, and agitate all classes, but may be made to compromit this Union—and will under such leaders. The unfortunate warfare lit up between commerce and manufactures, involves some of our greatest interests and soundest policies. The fisheries, the navy, as well as our direct commerce, all, without reflection seem to say and think, that the encouragement of manufactures will impair their force and limit their scope and usefulness.

They do not reflect that manufactures would not only furnish the best market and consumption for the avails of commerce, but employ their tonnage in a richer and safer way. The agitation is becoming great, and will shake this confederation to its centre. Of all the deep laid schemes of an unprincipled party, this of overreaching the popular vote of the nation, setting at nought the established policies matured by long debate and much care and compromise in our National Legislature, is the rankest, and must arouse all and shake the Union.

CHAPTER X.

COMPLICATION OF THIS GOVERNMENT AND CLASHING OF ITS PARTS.

How shall we approach this great complexity, this mighty entanglement of a Government. A Cretan labyrinth for the politician, an Egyptian darkness for the philosopher, and a Chinese puzzle for its own citizens. In all the confederations of the world, none ever presented such a various aspect; and in all the machinery of government, none before showed so many wheels within wheels, such imperia in imperio. The wear and tear of a government thus complex, must be great, independently of its aptitude to get out of order, and smash into fragments the delicate parts. When you examine the head of this nation, you find no sensorium to nerve its action and regulate its movements. Go to the heart and you find no pulsation, but as the motions of the extremities impart them. Go to those extremes where all the action appears,

and instead of motions stimulated by the beatings of the heart and directed by a proper head, they appear like the dancing jacks, a mere capering without plan. If you visit Washington city, where the central power of the confederation resides, and talk with the functionary called a President, he will wonder what the States are going to do! When you go into the Legislative hall, you will see members get up and read solemn instructions from the States directing them how to act. Go into the Federal courts, they will very likely be discussing some State law, and whether it had the right to pass it, and how far their decree might affect or revoke it. Should you travel down, or rather up to the States, to witness the operation there, you will see very like a parade of militia under a flag new to you, the officers holding commissions from the State and respecting their State colors. You will see her courts sitting interpreting the laws of that State only, or if they read the statutes of the Federal government, it is to denounce them, and show that they have no authority, or are made in contravention of the compact, and void.

Attend the local Legislature, you will see them acting as if no other power existed, as if no check or head ever reached or controlled them. If they honor the Federal government at all with a notice, it is to denounce it as a meddling grasping power, that must be corrected and set right, and immediately send off a resolve to that effect, which makes the whole frame of that government shake with fear and trembling. Let us hear what these noisy democrats in the ale-houses, or on the public

squares, or at the popular gatherings, are talking about—what that demagogue is holding forth to the multitude from a stump, or table, or the tavern steps, as the case may be. The noisy democrat is for “free trade and sailors rights;” against all tariff, against England the enemy of the United States, against the treaty with England, against internal improvements, and against the Post-office and all its arrangements. The orator from the stump is denouncing the Federalists as in league with England to oppress this country, denouncing Henry Clay as one who wants to tax the many for the few in a tariff; denouncing the Federal government, or Uncle Sam as he popularly calls it, as a tyrant that is all the time aiming to destroy State rights. “I go for State rights,” says he, “for nullification, secession, any thing to check and put back that monster.” A thousand such denunciations daily meet the ear, scouting and villifying all that is good, great, pure, or worthy in the country. These vile currents of hatred, abuse, and falsity, flow on continually, and will some day undermine the very foundations of all order and all government. The powers and acts of the Federal and State government are everlastingly running foul of each other. They both claim to legislate on the same subjects, control the same rights and interests, and interpret their own acts and laws. There is no umpire to hold the scales of justice and decide between them. The Federal court, that was intended to be such an arbiter, is unarmed and prostrate.

The Constitution that they in their wisdom called an oracle in its dicta, and a palladium of libert

is a dead letter. If it speaks at all, it is not as an oracle any more, but to be mocked and disregarded. If it holds forth its shield of power to protect and defend, it is pierced and torn by the darts of faction; it is made to speak in ambiguity, in contradiction of itself, and in favor of every party, and of every interest that passion or design presents to it. It is clearly in favor of nullification, says the chivalrous State of South Carolina! It allows of Secession, says the great, wise and *domain State* of Virginia! It gives no power, lay any impost, except for revenue, say the whole democratic party! It has not imparted to the Federal government power to make a road, or canal, or bridge, say the same party, backed very disinterestedly by those States that live in the mud, swim rivers, and are unable to get what they make to market, or have a mail sometimes once a month. Although it says as plainly as the English language can express it, that no State shall issue bills of credit or make money; yet the States have banked until the whole land is flooded with base currency; borrowed money as long as they had any credit, and issued their bonds, the strongest sort of bills of credit, and now some repudiate the debt, and others decline to pay it. The Federal government was intended by that instrument to have all control of the military, whether regular or militia—yet all the States organize them, drill them, officer them, and command them. Thousands of other constructions and contradictions equally absurd, and embracing every act or power, or right, or interest in the country, daily occur, and leave every thing in confusion and to chances.

Twenty-six State constitutions, twenty-six State legislatures, and as many courts, all repeating the same things, securing the same rights, making the same laws, interpreting and construing all in the same manner as the Federal constitution, the Federal legislature, and the Federal court, must continually clash. They must cover the same grounds, act upon the same subjects, without harmony or consultation. In all this legislation, judging and interpreting, the lawyers and judges must be dray horses, if they understand the one half. As for the people, they become completely bewildered and mystified. As I have said before, they lean upon the local power as the one most known and safest, and the mass look to be led and guided by the designing demagogues of their party. It has the effect, however, of weakening all feelings of patriotism in the minds of the people, and making them reckless politicians, caring but little for any thing relating to the government that pulls them in different directions. To make a population love their country, feel as patriots, have a pride in it, fight for it, and vindicate it on all occasions, it is necessary that the government be felt, act firmly, steadily and justly, and lift itself above all low, grovelling acts or policies. Must be simple, seen and understood.

The same complexity and difference exists in the laws of this country, as in the government itself, or the construction of her constitution. The central government has her laws; many of them very just and proper, but without subjects to act upon or a conceded field of jurisdiction to act in. All the States have voluminous codes and statutes, amount

ing to fifty volumes in some cases, and all different. They all have their commentators and reporters, in which you may find any thing you hunt for; asserted, adjudged, and recorded to your hand. The courts of some of the weaker States make a point to decide a case differently from the Federal court, or the court of some old, and more wise and powerful State, lest it be said that they are influenced.

A person wishing to be a respectable or finished lawyer in the States, ought to study twenty years as a noviciate. He must wade through a mass of matter that would have filled Noah's ark, and in nearly the varied way it was filled. He must study the law of nature, of nations; law maritime, civil code, the common law of England, and the statutes of that country. Then he must come home, for his labors are but begun, and study the constitution of the Federal government, and its hydra-headed decisions and constructions; the statutes of the Federal legislature, the constitution of twenty-six States, and the laws of as many, and four territories, and of Texas, where he may have to go some day. Must read the reports of decisions in England; the reports of decisions of the Federal court, and twenty-six States, and four territories. By this time his head is gray, if he has kept his head at all, and is entitled to a sergeantry, if there was any court-house that could hold him. How is a little Judge, from a few months loose reading, not studying, to decide correctly in almost any case. He strikes at the broad side of justice in his decisions, and hits some where, no matter how. The little lawyer, instead of troubling himself with

all this nonsense, as he justly calls it, puts himself at his ease and talks politics. He abuses some body or some party, and is very apt to carry his point to the jury, and Judge too, if his election is pending and his term of office nearly out.

The Federal Judges, although put in for life, and supposed therefore to be independent, are now all selected by and from the dominant party, and put in because their opinions are known on all leading subjects; and even made to promise and declare that they will decide on the bench as they did when acting with their party in Congress or elsewhere. Hence the independence of that tribunal is not real, and their opinions are forestalled by force of party feeling. The Judges in nearly all the States, particularly the new ones, are elected by the people for two, three, or four years, as the case may be, and all the time electioneering, and their decisions warped to favor those on whom they depend for office. This State of things makes still more clashing and differences in laws, or the interpretation of laws. Besides all the above laws we have described, and the beautiful variety growing out of their constructions; there are thousands of corporations of cities, boroughs, churches, societies, colleges, stock companies and associations, all of whom have charters, and most of them power to make bye-laws and ordinances, that often involve the titles to property, and have to be adjudicated upon according to those laws and ordinances, making another cat's-tail to be regarded and not trod upon.

This constant clashing between the laws and powers of the Federal government and the States, shows itself in a thousand cases and in a great va-

riety of ways. The Federal constitution gives the power to wage war, carry on commerce, and establish post-roads and post-offices; yet the Democratic States say she cannot make a road, a canal, or a bridge even. A child could see that this power appertained to, and was necessary to the others. The constitution forbids any State making money, or issuing bills of credit—yet all the States have disregarded this provision, have made two thousand banks, and flooded the country with their rags. They have not only done this, but borrowed all the money they could and issued their bonds and stock, the strongest sort of bills of credit, for these loans! The Federal government alone has the power to levy imposts; yet the States levy a wharf tax and one for hospitals!! The one half of the States, nearly, say too, that the Federal government has no power to lay a duty for protection, or to countervail the injustice of other nations, though necessary to her very existence, to her independence, and the developement of her industry and resources. A Canadian in the employ of England, committed some outrage within the limits of the sovereign empire State of New York, that the English government espoused and apologized for to the central government—yet New York seized on him, and said he was amenable to her laws, notwithstanding what the two governments of England and America might think and do, or wish to the contrary; and would have punished him, had any proof appeared against him. A dispute between England and the United States occurred about some territory, and after long negotiations about it, (“up jumped the little dog and knocked them both down,”) the State

of Maine gave them notice that it belonged to her, and that nothing could or would be done without her consent. Her claim and power were both admitted, and the central government had to give her about a half million to gain her assent to the treaty that settled it. "Your warrant put a man in prison," said a local to a Federal Judge, "but my habeas corpus took him out." The Federal court made a decree in a certain case, where seizure and execution were necessary; her Marshal was resisted. "Summon the posse" said the Judge: no posse would come; the "spirits called from the vasty deep" would not appear. A Federal Judge had his nose pulled by a blackguard, as soon as he arose from his seat on the bench—he could not punish him, because he was a free citizen; and it was not contempt, although done at the Court house door. A clerk of that court seized on the records, and would not give them up, because he was turned out of office, as he thought, improperly—he could not be punished, although he stopped the very current of justice. Kentucky passed a law giving regularly patented land to a squatter after a few years occupancy; put the Federal court at defiance, and stood ready to resist her decree, had it dared to decide against her.

The limitation laws in the twenty-six sovereignties are from two years to thirty. as the time that gives title. Should the marshal of the Federal court have a *capias* against the same man that a sheriff of a State also has, the marshal would have to give way, or be seized himself most likely. Some smuggled goods were seized by a local execution after they had been carried into the country, and

the United States' officer who pursued them was told that he could not control them, admitting they were smuggled, because they were not in the port where alone he could act. A public defaulter, supported by his party, often when sued on his bonds, is allowed to establish the balance against the government by any proof he can suborn, or any party feeling he can avail himself of. Real estate is not regarded in the United States more than a cow or a horse: can be sold under execution by the marshal of the central government, the sheriff of a State, the corporation of a city, a town council for township dues, or a constable that has his little execution of ten dollars from a justice of the peace: can be sold for taxes due either to the central government, state government, city corporation, or township dues.

The United States government required five years as necessary to naturalize a foreigner and make him a citizen; a time short enough, but some of the States meet them on arriving, give them all the privileges of citizenship in their limits, and allow them to vote for members of Congress, and all officers of the central government as well as their own, and thus defeat the act of the Federal power, and even control federal officers, for it is often their vote that decides. The Federal constitution says: "No person shall be disturbed or lose any right on account of his religious principles, and that he shall have and enjoy liberty of conscience." Yet the judges of the State courts often prevent a man testifying before them because he is a deist, a unitarian, a mussulman, or a pagan, and thus deprive him of his rights. The States pass laws in the teeth of the above clause of the constitution, forbidding any per-

son working on Sunday, although the Jews do not admit it is Sunday at all, and such is the fact, yet they have to keep it or be fined.

Scarcely any act or law of Congress or of a State legislature is carried by a vote resting on its merits. They are passed either by force of party influence, or by offering the inducement of an office, or the handling of public money to members enough to ensure a majority, or a direct bribe. Much the most common method, however, is the one called *log-rolling*, which means an unprincipled combination between two classes of members, who very likely hate one another, but have each some favorite local measure to carry, and finding out that they have not strength enough unless they join the other who are similarly situated, and then they both pass the laws they wish, without regard to the general interest or public good. You hear continually one member jeering another, and ask, "Why are you opposing my bill? You have a law to pass, and will want help too; let us join." Even at the polls, where party does not whip in too closely, you will hear such arguments used.

No one who understands human nature, no one in particular who has seen and knows the reckless excitable character of the Americans, that has witnessed the fierce hatred of party spirit in this country, and its utterly unprincipled, don't-care, stop-at-nothing sort of feelings, can hope for a moment that this Union or confederation can endure under all the complexity and confliction we have spoken of. Daily, hourly occur cases of confliction, causes of excitement, and scenes that prove to all disinterested persons that this Union is in no wise regarded, its value

not at all appreciated, and goes for nothing in the strife of party, the confliction of powers, and opposing interests. Habit and patriotism may stay the hand of the good and reflecting who belong to the most correct party, but nothing checks for a moment the dominant party but, as we have said, a wish to preserve this worthless confederation for their own use and exclusive emolument. Accident, therefore, more than any inherent cohesion, keeps together the parts, and the feeble union is preserved by a grovelling interest that would use it. "Palsied be the arm raised against this Union, and speechless the tongue that would pronounce against it," were once the favorite toasts at the fourth of July dinners. Now we calculate it in dollars and cents, defile the sacredness of its shrine, and our very school boys are taught to jeer its weakness and lisp curses upon its desecrated existence! Without sacredness to excite veneration, without any power or authority to command respect, without any guarantees to ensure its continuance, how can it stand against the storms of passions, the endless conflictions, the selfishness of party, and the natural want of cohesion in its construction? How can it, a thing of accident, keep the inward peace, repel foreign invasion, and preserve its feeble existence? As a tree of the forest whose heart is rotten, as a pillar whose pedestal is decayed, or a temple whose arches have crumbled, it will fall by its own weight, and involve all in its ruins. Thus will perish the best hopes of liberty, the last effort of man for independence and free government, and leave the world to anarchy and despotism! Let her perish, say the ill-taught youths of the south, rather than come under the influence of the north!

Let her perish, say the bawling locos, rather than come under the rule of Henry Clay or whiggery! Let her perish, say the reckless and chivalrous Carolinians, rather than have a tariff and make our own supplies! Let her perish, say the slaveholders, rather than be under abolitionism! And she will perish, she will fade away and be no longer known as a rallying point for liberty, under all these unprincipled and reckless feelings, under all these violences, corruptions and selfishness! When the place where stood the fabric of this confederation shall have become vacant, all the high hopes, all the great interests, and all the guarantees of liberty lie prostrate and scattered, then shall we in vain utter our regrets. Then will anarchy stalk forth, and despotism soon follow in her train, and we shall be the mockery of nations, the unworthy guardians of liberty, and traitors to her holy cause!

CHAPTER XI.

HEAVY EXPENSES OF THIS COMPLEX GOVERNMENT.

Heavy expenses grow out of and are incident to this very complicated form of government. All these wheels have to be greased. All these (not a thousand and one, but nearer a million and one,) officers and agents have to be paid, and must have a chance at the public coffers to steal about twice as much as their regular pay and legal wages! There is no end to taxes in this country. When you shall have paid the dues to the Federal government, and think your property safe, you are then called

upon by the State that your property lies in for twice as much more tax. You pay that and set down easy in mind under an impression that you are now certainly safe, but are soon told that the county has a tax too of half as much more. Well, you pay it also, then comes the corporation if in a city, and after that the commissioners of the poor, of the roads, and probably a hospital tax ; and if you belong to any church, they too are down on you for not only your pew rent, but for building and repairs. If you wear a watch, it pays a tax ; if you ride in a carriage you must pay for it also, and for your riding horse, your furniture, your servants, and even cows and money at interest or stocks. If you sell goods you pay a license, or liquors, or keep a tavern, or practice a profession. All this on account of the numerous officers and movements of this complicated affair.

The expenses of the English government constitute the worst and most oppressive feature in its operation, because a great number of officers are paid too extravagantly and unnecessarily high. If, however, you abstract the English government from the interest on her public debt, a burthen her present population did not impose and would not if to be done again ; abstract her from the tithes oppressively paid to a religion under which not half of her people worship ; abstract her from the portion of her army and navy kept up as necessary to enforce these oppressions, and confine her to her civil list and reasonable expenditures for defences, and her expenses would not be much greater than this people incur in carrying on their very complicated machinery of government.

The President, three hundred members of Congress, thirty or forty federal judges, sixty marshals and their deputies, four thousand clerks, three thousand and other officers, such as registers, receivers, surveyors, draftsmen and agents of their one hundred land offices, six thousand custom house officers, then surveyors, clerks, tide waiters, appraisers, weighers, and agents, twenty thousand connected with the post office, foreign ministers, commercial agents, consuls, and agents, and all the other array of little offices incident to the federal government, swell the lists to an incalculable amount. You may add one hundred per cent. to the salaries and commissions of these federal officers for peculations, defalcations, and stealage, that they never fail to indulge in. This peculation is a natural consequence of the mode of appointing them, through a system of favoritism, party action, or indirect bribery. In New York, in the custom house alone, in two years, not less than two millions of dollars were taken by the federal officers, and entirely lost. The bonds they give in such cases are worthless, and the bail men of straw, accepted by party influence.

You then go down to the States, where twenty-six legislatures, amounting to about 2500 members, are to be paid, with their corresponding phalanx of judges, sheriffs, clerks, and innumerable other officers in the pay and service of these sovereignties, and all ready to steal, for which add the usual per centage ! Go still lower to the counties. There you find a host of officers, assessors, collectors, commissioners of the poor, of the roads, of the schools, hospitals, and surveyors, and a like host in the city corporations, all having their favorites, their aptitude for

peculation, and irresponsible bondsmen, if any at all. The items would sum up something in the way of the following, viz :

Civil list of the Federal Government, including the

army and navy which is paid in salaries,	-	\$10,000,000
Officers of do. paid by commissions and fees,	-	8,000,000
Allow for peculation and stealage 50 per cent.	-	9,000,000
Forts, ships, light-houses, harbors, &c. &c.	-	3,000,000
Fifty per cent. for stealage,	-	1,500,000
Twenty-six States and five Territories civil sala-		
ried lists	-	10,000,000
Their officers paid by commissions and fees,	-	10,000,000
Add for stealage,	-	5,000,000
Corporations, counties, cities, boroughs, &c. &c.	-	10,000,000
Stealage,	-	3,000,000
Post office, carriers and stealage,	-	10,000,000
All other incidental and unenumerated expenses,	-	5,000,000

\$84,500,000

Twenty thousand churches, their buildings, repairs, salaries, &c. &c.

- 20,000,000

Bridges, roads, poor, insane, hospitals, and all other things,

- 30,000,000

\$134,500,000

This list must leave out many expenses that have to be paid. And to show that it is not exaggerated, the city of New York expends annually in ordinary corporation expenses three million dollars, and when she has some great object to accomplish, and can thereby bribe the rabble, expends, as we stated above in reference to the Croton water, twelve millions more a year. Add to the above the interest on three hundred millions of State, Federal and corporation debts at 6 per cent. per annum, which make near twenty million more.

Tell me not that a complex government is cheap ! There is too much machinery to be cheap ; too

much delegation to unworthy agents to be economically, safely, and honestly administered. Too much jealousy and corruption to stop at trifles to carry their points. The dupes, (the ignorant and unambitious laboring citizens,) have to pay the piper, whilst the designing and active partizans dance and revel. The individual expenses and taxes, taken from the tabular statement of a gentleman in one of the cities, would run something nearly as follows:

Direct tax to Federal Government during last war, for 1 year,	120
State tax on ditto,	355
County tax on do. 150—poor tax 62—road tax 40—	
school tax 60,	312
When he had paid this, came a note from the vestry of his church requiring of him \$75 pew rent and 20 for repairs,	95
Then a notice from the street commissioner apprised him that owing to some alterations of the street adjoining his property he must pay	1026
Then the port warden let him know, that on the 50 laborers he got over were due for hospital \$50, and a guarantoe to prevent them becoming paupers \$100,	150
This tax or direct outlay,	\$2058

The above does not include the imposts he pays on all he consumes, the fees he pays when he uses an officer for his rights, his proportion of the interest on the public debt, nor his part of what is stolen.

One of the worst features in such a complicated government, is the total irresponsibility of the agents and officers employed. All they have to do is to flatter and serve their party to obtain office, and their want of character and necessities urge them to abuse it, and render them incapable of resisting the temptation of money passing through their hands. A confederation thus expensive, a union thus costly, will not find devoted advocates.

CHAPTER XII.

STATE RIGHTS—RESERVED RIGHTS—SECESSION
AND NULLIFICATION.

WE have already said much on this subject, in illustration of other subjects of which we have treated. We will now merely condense this very curious, and very exciting subject, into a few heads, to show its bearing on this Union, and how certain it is to contribute its full part to any disruption that may occur. It will be pretty much a repetition of what we have already said. It was coeval with the existence of the Jeffersonian party in this country, to lay stress on State rights, fearful that all his other machinery might fail in putting down the Adams administration and Federal party; fearful lest the broad foundation of general suffrage and popular rights, might not be firm enough to bear the fabric of his pretensions, and the power and influence of his party. Jefferson contrived to bring in State sovereignties as a surer support. Had the Federal government been left to act personally upon individuals, when tumult and disorder threatened, it could easily have checked and put them down. But when it met the broad shield of a State and was opposed by the organized powers of the local sovereignty, at the very outer posts of popular disorder, it recoiled, and had to respect this new obstacle to its authority. It exclaimed "et tu Brute;" and its powers and hopes expired.

Thomas Jefferson and his party put forward, in the year 1796, the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia, over whom he had control, to commence

this war of the States upon the central power. These States resolved that the Federal government was exceeding its power, grasping at an uncontrollable dominion, and that the States had the right, and it was their duty to step forward in such cases, to stay its course, and confine its action to the proper constitutional limits. That the Constitution of the United States was not for the government thereof, or its creatures to construe, but its due construction and control rested with the States of which it was a mere creature, and that it became the duty of the States to use their inherent sovereign power to protect the citizen from its tyranny and oppression. From that time, a new controlling influence unknown to the constitution, that of the States, stood forth out of its proper sphere, and held up its ever ready shield against the confederation. It became a part of the business of the annual sessions of the legislatures of these two States, and such as were under their influence, to look into the acts of the Federal government, and censure such as seemed to oppose their interests, or their view of things. From that time the States began to assume powers that did not belong to them, or use such as the Federal government were afraid to exercise. For instance, they organized and officered the militia, because the central power neglected it. They chartered banks and monied institutions, in the very teeth of the Constitution, until they controlled the currency of the country and affected the value of every thing by the quantity of paper money and bills they poured forth. This action on the currency went on until the country was almost convulsed, and every interest prostrated; at one time triplica-

ting all prices and values by an inflation of this base money; at another time, and in quick succession too, cheapening every thing by calling in or crimping their circulation. The Federal government stood by and let this factitious creation of money bear upon, affect, and even corrupt every resource of the nation; and the Federal court, afraid to stir, sanctioned it. Now the States go one step further, and deny to the Federal government all power or right to make a bank at all; thus securing to the States not only the right, but the exclusive privilege. State rights became the watch-word of the Democratic party; you were never out of the hearing of the pleasing and flattering sound.

As soon as it was seen, that however ready the Federal power was to act upon or against an individual; that they hesitated, and would not act against a State authority; and either gave the question up, or let it lay undecided or not acted upon, which last was most commonly the case, it emboldened the States to stand forth on all occasions where their citizens were concerned. The commercial cities against the provisions of the Federal constitution laid port duties upon commerce, or collected hospital funds; and to avoid confliction, the Federal Congress generally sanctioned such levies by an express law. The surest method then found, to get a concession or acknowledgment of authority from the United States in favor of any State measure, was for the State to assume it and act upon it; then, rather than produce a crisis, or a scene, an act of Congress or of the Federal court would confirm it.

Squatters would settle on the lands or domain of the United States, within the body of a State, and

being too strong or too much backed by the State to be removed, Congress would pass laws giving such intruders or trespassers the lands, or a right of pre-emption thereto. By this sanction, there is an end put to all competition in the purchase of the lands of the United States, they bring the minimum price only. This, however, is not the worst part of the policy; for in order to get the choice lands in all cases, and the water privileges, the population scatters out, continually spreading its thin texture still more, induced by this very impolitic law, passed for no other reason than to cover the weakness of the Federal government and prevent a clashing with the States. The next action of the States will be to seize the public domain or lands within their body belonging to the Federal government, and appropriate them to their own use and emolument, which means to reward with them the demagogues and party, and the rabble that support them. Already they have, on many occasions, threatened to do so; and you will hear a bold, reckless candidate, publicly recommending such a course as due to the sovereign power of the State, and ensuring his election by that course.

The United States have given the sixteenth part of all the public lands for primary schools, and about fifty thousand acres of picked land for a college or university to each State, in contact with her lands. This noble fund, that was intended for all posterity, and if preserved and properly managed, might have educated the whole mass of people therein, has in most cases been seized upon, and the lands sold by the State to which granted. They alleged that a sovereign State can do what it pleas-

es, and is above all ideas of being created a trustee by any authority on earth. The funds arising have been wasted, mostly given away to reward noisy politicians, or been seized upon by them.

Money became so abundant by the multiplication of banks, and the influx of English capital, about the years 1836 and 1837, that the treasury of the United States had near fifty million surplus, after paying all its debts. This would have been a proper fund, and could not have been better employed than in constructing roads, canals and bridges, to facilitate the mail operations, or the intercommunications of trade, or education; but it was unconstitutional, the States said, to do any of these things. They therefore incontinently divided it out among themselves, and did actually get it and used it up, generally speaking, in some visionary project, or it was distributed in some way to redound to the emolument of their party, and wasted by demagogues. One half of these very States that pronounced internal improvements unconstitutional, and that the Federal government had no power to make a road, are so deep in the mud, that during the winter, or a rainy season, they can neither get to market nor have a mail, nor see their neighbors, nor hold courts, or do any thing that requires travel or transportation. One then, that did not know their object in appropriating this fund, might suppose them very disinterested.

If an enemy or a foreign power invades the United States, kills any person, burns any house, or plunders any citizen; although peace ensue, or a satisfactory apology be made by the invading power, yet if the particular State afterwards catches any one

known to have been in that expedition, she will try him as a murderer, a burglar, or robber, under her sovereign laws, regardless of the national character thereof, or of any arrangement satisfactorily agreed upon by the two governments concerned. Witness the case of McKenzie, in New York, that very nearly involved England and the United States in a war. Nothing but the want of proof against McKenzie, in the New York court, saved the peace of the country. After a long negotiation between England and the United States, touching a tract of mountain on the borders of Maine, and a reference to the King of Holland, the parties were gravely informed that it belonged to the free and sovereign independent State of Maine, and that unless all the terms of the negotiation were acceptable to her, they had as well stop them, and save trouble. The parties, therefore, had to recognize this new power, and start again in negotiation on the basis she proposed, which required them not only to acknowledge her right, but pay or bribe her to gain her consent.

When a State, or local power, therefore, cannot only check, control, and embarrass all the operations of the Federal government at home, but can throw itself across the foreign relations and great national operations of that government abroad, relating to territory, peace or war, or intercourse, what is to be the result? The temporizing policy of the Federal government at home, or its truckling acts, may quiet these turbulent arrogating States; but when they interfere in her foreign relations, fatal consequences must ensue. The foreign power cannot and will not understand it, and will regard such interference as an insult or an evasion. It becomes dangerous

for the United States to stipulate with foreign nations to deliver over felons that elope and take refuge, or sailors, though mutinous, that run away, when demanded; for the particular State on whose territory the thing occurs, will most likely shield them, or issue a habeas corpus and release them, in the teeth of any treaty; alleging that it would be an abuse of her sovereignty to allow such an act to take place. State politicians would gain popularity by stirring in the case, and glory in it, even should it lead to a foreign war. The States wield the habeas corpus in all cases, even against the executive or judicial acts of the Federal government, on the application of an individual, and would imprison the highest officer if he did not obey it. The United States require a foreigner to be five years in the country, under the proper declaration, before he can become a citizen, and enjoy the privileges of one. Most of the States, however, give to the same foreigner the privileges of a citizen of the territory in a few months, or weeks, and suffer him to vote for the highest officers of even the Federal government immediately; thus defeating the naturalization laws of the Union, and often by such votes controlling the elections, and through them the country.

The Constitution of the United States forbids the passage of *ex post facto* laws, and any law to impair the force of contracts. The States, in the face of this provision, do continually pass stay laws, suspending executions, or the courts, or revoking charters, and thus not only affect vested rights, but such acts are in their nature *ex post facto*, and do impair contracts. Some of them repudiate their most sol-

emn public debts, and others refuse to pay them, or make any provision for them. The Constitution of the United States, provides that felons shall be demanded by one State from another, where they take refuge, and delivered over; but there are many cases where the State has refused to obey the requisition, particularly when party spirit is concerned in it, and in that way defeated justice, shielded the felon, and gratified faction. The United States declare the use of all navigable rivers free to all the citizens of all the States; yet States have granted monopolies of such rivers to companies and individuals, for navigation, and will not let other States fish or catch oysters in the waters within their limits.

The Federal government took cognizance of the Indians in its limits, conceded to them a sort of national character, and made treaties or formal compacts with them, securing to them territory and self-government. The States, however, regard this as impairing their sovereignties, and disregard these treaties. They make laws to govern and control the Indians in their borders; and on one occasion, Georgia claimed all the lands of the Indians, and was about to drive them away; when the Federal government, to avoid a conflict, bribed the Indians to sell out and go off. She then gave Georgia all she claimed, and by this course sanctioned State usurpation; and in a manner, sacrificed her own power and right, and in prospective, her very existence, to avoid civil commotion. The stand the States took and maintained, in regard to the Indians in their several borders, totally disregarded the Federal government, and obliged it to expend vast sums of money in removing the Indians from

their respective limits, and planting them beyond them. By this course she steered clear of conflict, and perhaps civil war; but has truckled to the States, cheapened herself in their estimation, and opened the door for future concession without limit.

In the last war with England, most of the New England States thought the war if not unjust, impolitic; and not only voted in Congress against it, but would not join in carrying it on, so far as they acted in their sovereign capacity. They got up a convention at Hartford denouncing the war, denouncing the Federal government, and advised their citizens, individually, not to aid its unholy cause. The clergy from the pulpits, the judges from the benches, and their politicians every where, abused both the Federal government and the war, and set a mark on all that aided or lent support to it. The capitalists were urged not to loan their money, the men not to join the army or navy. When a quota of militia was called for to support the country against invasion, they refused to draft for them; and when a direct tax was laid, and those States called on for their part, they refused, and furnished under the proper authority neither men nor money. They stood as they expressed it, on their reserved rights; and would take care of and defend their own territory, not only against the foreign enemy, but the Federal government, should it think proper to invade them. They knew the enemy would not only respect, but thank them for their neutrality, and that the United States feared to make any attempt to force them. The most active and efficient portion of the Union, under these unfortunate circumstances, became *de hors* the combat, and left the

Federal government too weak to invade Canada, and almost unable to defend the very centre of its existence. Washington city fell and was burnt, and lasting disgrace attached to the disaster. When State rights lie across the very wars and defences of the country, what may not happen to the Union? It is no government at all, not worth the name, that cannot use its limbs in its own defence, whose remotest extremities do not aid the struggle for its existence, or even its honor and rights.

The Federal government made a tariff of duties, both for revenue and protection, as her necessities, her policies and constitution, well warranted, but South Carolina solemnly nullified it by a legislative act, and prepared to import goods in contravention of it. The Federal government had to change her tariff until acceptable to that State, to avoid civil war. South Carolina said that she was still in the Union, although nullifying its acts; that the Federal court could not judge of the constitutionality of an act of the Federal government, because it was a creature of that government; the majority of Congress could not, because it passed the questionable law; ergo, the minority must in the nature of things, because it did not pass it to be oppressed by it! When such absurdities as these are uttered, where is the guaranty of any rational action or chance of existence in the government? This sweeping pretension of State rights, this jealous and morbid State sovereignty, has not only nullified any act of the Union not acceptable to it; has not only stood back on its reserved rights in time of need, of distress, of war, and done all the other deeds named above, but claims to secede from the confederation,

and be still in it if she chooses; claims to stand back until all laws be passed that it may like, or all laws abrogated that she may dislike. Then her majesty Virginia, for instance, may step up with becoming dignity and announce, that she is now ready to honor the Union with her presence.

The politicians that talk so much of State rights, not only utter all these absurd and disorganizing opinions, but assume the preposterous notion that the sovereign States stand in the same relations to each other as partners in a mercantile concern. They formed a house, they say, and can dissolve it whenever they choose; even any one member can withdraw and claim his interest in the concern, or resume his stock in trade. This doctrine and forced analogy, sanctions nullification, secession, disunion, and all other destructive constructions given to the compact. The falsity of this analogy must strike every one. Merchants associate for pecuniary profit, and can dissolve without involving any thing but the stock and profits. The States associated in a government offensive and defensive, without limitation, or provision for a dissolution, for life and death. The question of existence, is the only one that governs the confederation. And no politicians would ever, in any age, have been weak enough to put it, or leave it in the power of any one, or of a minority, to put an end to the government, their only hope. Had not the European governments so regarded it, would not they, or some one of them, have long before this time, tampered with some one State, and induced her by high offers of advantage or privilege, to break up the Union? The argument leaves out the great purposes of the confederation, and

narrowly and meanly puts it on a footing altogether below its object and aim.

The doctrine of State rights not only affects one State at a time and renders her unruly and arrogant, but leads often to combinations of States, amounting sometimes to one half, when a subject or interest is general and wide enough to embrace so much. This renders it more alarming, and looks more squally. The question of slavery, for instance, (of which we will speak more particularly hereafter,) and the great questions growing out of the tariff and commerce, as well as the feelings generated by climate and extent of territory, are of this character. Just half of the States hold slaves, the other half are opposed to it. They enter the Congress of the United States therefore, much embittered against each other on this subject, and become perfectly reckless on any motion or question any way involving it. They array by the line of slavery, which unfortunately is a geographical line, one defined and visible to all, not imperceptibly blending and interlocking like the influences of climate, or the interests of agriculture, and commerce, and manufactures. They see their strength—they feel its full force, and know what they have to depend on in that case. The effort to keep up this balance, at least in the Senate of the United States, is great, and hereafter will very like entangle them with foreign governments. Texas is and California will be certainly seized by the influence of the Southern slave States, before many years, to strengthen and extend the slave interest, and enable them to keep the balance complete.

The feeling in Congress on this subject is so acute

that they will not bear any discussion on it. It has carried them so far that they are perfectly reckless, and have already under the excitement it produced, violated three principles of the government, that should be ever regarded as sacred to liberty, and are so regarded even in England. They have refused to receive petitions, and thus denied the sacred and long established right of petitioning that is coeval with English liberty. They have opened and looked into the mail, and do allow any one of the twenty thousand post officers to do it, under pretence of throwing out and burning all abolition matter, thus violating the ever to be regarded secrecy and inviolability of this great medium of intercommunication, and corrupting the very fountain of confidence. They have violated the sacredness of the trial by jury, which is a fast foundation and long cherished aid of justice. If the title to a cow, a horse, or a chattel is questioned, a trial by jury is necessary to reclaim it and establish the right; but a slave, a human being, a living soul, may be seized any where by the brief and petty order of a justice of the peace, or constable, or the owner, and dragged off to everlasting slavery and ignominy, without any intervention of a jury, or the form of a regular trial through the courts. This dead balance the Union has come to on the question of slavery; the deep and exciting interest running with it, the violence already offered through it to the sacred principles of liberty, will be sure to lead to stronger feelings, deeper enmities, open violence and certain disruption. The most of the free States thus far, through a principle of courtesy to the slave States and regard for the Union, forbear on this subject, and try to check both the en-

thusiasm of the abolitionists and the passionate excitement of the slave States. The slave States, however, do not thank them for their forbearance, or give them any credit for their courtesy and disinterested patriotism, but in their sweeping abuse and uncontrollable feelings, charge all with the same views, and put them altogether at open defiance. This very short-sighted policy may have the effect and will of throwing all the free States into one group, and arraying them against the slave States. As a source of danger and disunion, slavery is of an uncompromising nature, knows no medium, and will bear down every other interest, not excepting the Union itself.

There has been a great deal of speculation as to whether the other States, or any one of them, would stir in aid of the Union, in case a single State, or a combination of States, openly resisted the central government? The better opinion of those deepest interested in the question, and who have not only had the best opportunities, but observed with the closest scrutiny, is, that in no case would the other States move a finger in their sovereign capacity to put down the refractory sister. Their sympathy would be so strong in favor of State power, that they would do nothing but try to effect a compromise, as has been often done already, but would not fight against her or them. When South Carolina nullified, and every person thought a crisis unavoidable, some of the States resolved that they would not oppose her, and others, particularly the great, wise and domain state of Virginia, sent one of her most prudent men, or politicians, to her, to "reside," as she expressed it, "near the government of

South Carolina," advise or consult with her on the difficulty with the Union, and try to effect a compromise; a compromise did take place, and the tariff was modified or altered to suit the case. 'The very mode in which Virginia sent down to her, added fresh insult to the thing; for she claimed to do it or interfere as a sovereign and friend, and from her own impulses, not those of the Federal power, and sent as it were an ambassador under the flag of a sovereignty, to the court of, or to reside near, another sovereign, to offer her mediation only, not threaten her. The States have a sort of "esprit de corps," a pride, and make it a point of honor not to take sides against a sister State under any circumstances; what then could the abstract and helpless thing, the Federal government, do of herself, with five or six thousand common soldiers, scattered to the four winds, without pride, against a free State, with all the impulses of liberty, and their resources of men? I would venture a prophecy, that if the thing be put to the test, which it most likely will, that the State carries her point.

Sentiments of disunion gain strength daily. I can remember when an idea uttered or a feeling manifested against this Union, would have cost its author his life, or at least his standing in society. A thousand voices would have scouted him, and it would have been spoken of all through the country as most abominable, and even treasonable. So sacred were the sentiments or feelings of Union, that the prevailing toast at all the Fourth of July dinners and feastings, as we have said, was "palsied be the arm that is lifted against the Union, and stiff the tongue that dare to denounce its sacredness."

This toast was always drunk standing, out of respect to the confederation. Gradually, as general suffrage and demagogueism corrupted the land, and State rights weaned the minds of the people from their allegiance to the Union, did the bold and the reckless begin to express their jealousies and doubts, and State politicians arraign its acts and gainsay its powers. Then you heard the bold nullifier, the Jeffersonian democrat, the anti-tariffites, the slaveholders, calculating its value in dollars and cents, and expressing most ruthlessly their indifference to its fate. This is not only the case under high excitement and heat of debate, but coldly and deliberately talked of as a matter of course in every ale house, on the public squares, court houses, legislative halls, and in the colleges and schools, in the mouths of striplings and almost babes. The progress of the ball of disunion gathers force as it goes, as well as velocity in a geometrical ratio; and unless something stays its course, or weakens its impetus, it will not on the same ratio require many years to do its work. Feelings against governments and estimates of their value, like revolutions, never go backwards; indeed they are in the nature of revolutions in the human mind. It is better to act upon such sentiments with an energy that compels, than try to conciliate them. When a government bends to them, they presume upon it; but when it compresses and forces them, they respect it.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It has been necessary to speak of this instrument in the preceding chapters, to enable us to explain certain party movements that otherwise seemed improbable and without motive. When the free, sovereign and independent States formed this great guarantee of civil liberty, this palladium of safety, this oracle of wisdom declarative of the rights of man, that spoke in anticipation of good order and of the just and safe administration of the necessary evil called government, they vainly supposed that they had put every thing on a sure and well defined basis. Instead of which they have thrown a fire brand among the most combustible materials in the world, and given a puzzle to these western children of liberty, not to amuse and keep them out of mischief, but to irritate them. Like the holy book, it causes to spring up, not quite two hundred and fifty sects or parties, yet enough to keep the country all the time in a turmoil. No logician, no philosopher, no mathematician, nor even a common plain minded person, could have formed the least idea of the multifarious constructions and absurd meanings given to this instrument. It was intended to make a government strong enough for self-preservation, but did make one weak enough to be contemptible. It gave the power to make war, yet not the right to enforce its members to join in carrying it on! It gave the power to lay imposts and collect duties, but not the power to countervail foreign nations, or

protect domestic industry and develop the resources of the nation! It gave the power to make war, regulate commerce, and establish post routes, but no power to construct a road, a canal, or a bridge! So that war may have no facilities of transportation to enable it to meet its enemy at the invading points! Commerce must lie on the strand when it arrives, without intercommunications with the interior, and the mail be stopped for the want of roads and bridges! It gave the power to make treaties, yet a State, (Maine for instance,) has the right to dictate the terms! It gave the right to make laws, but there is no recognized power to declare them proper and constitutional; many, however, to disregard and pronounce them void! It was given the power to take care of the country and advance its prosperity, but has no power to establish schools and educate the people, not even with funds given for that purpose! It shall not pass *ex post facto* laws or impair contracts, yet it has no power to prevent the twenty-six States, its constituents, doing it; staying executions, stopping the course of justice, and taking away charters! It gave power to make a law, but a single State may nullify it, or secede and exempt itself from its action! It made a federal court without the power to enforce its decrees! It is allowed to speak, but the States can speak louder! It secures the trial by jury, but a human being can be sent off and consigned to perpetual slavery by the mandate of a justice of the peace only! It forbids the States making money or using their credit, yet they have taken the exclusive privilege of banking into their own hands, and borrowed money on their credit, until the whole nation is

disgrace^d, and they now either repudiate or fail to provide for it!

A great rule of action that admits of the above contradictory and absurd constructions, and a thousand more that might be enumerated, is worse than none. In a simple representative government expediency would be a better guide than any constitution. The legislative department of such a government would rest its acts on the merits of each case; would not have this very convenient pretext to sanction its ultra conduct, and cloak or conceal its motives. Passion, ambition, and interest could not then warp every right or interest, and enable members to cover up unworthy, selfish and unjust acts and aims by this seemingly patriotic resort to constitutional control, and make it a salvo for their consciences. Ambiguity is perhaps unavoidable in an instrument of this sort; in such case there would be some excuse for a difference of construction. But no matter how plainly, the constitution is made to speak, be it as clearly expressed as any language is susceptible of, yet it would be the same thing. In the latter case the constructions are often more diametrically opposite than ever, are assumed with more bold impudence, and persevered in with more obstinate passion. Ever since the federal court, the proper tribunal, has been denied the power and right to construe it, party looked to nothing but the strength of its own vote, feared no correction and felt no responsibility.

Perhaps a confederated government may need some constitution to express the relative powers of the central and local authorities, but a simple representative one would certainly be better off without

it. The sense of justice, of right and of the principles of liberty, would guide her courts, and national interest and expediency direct her legislative enactments. England without any written constitution, rarely errs in policy, or commits injustice through her courts or parliaments. In case of rebellion or revolution, a constitution avails nothing—is a dead letter. In great emergencies, or very exciting times, it is either disregarded or made to speak in the language of passion, and becomes the foundation of or pretence for violence and ultra legislation. And when a quiet and calmness prevails in the human mind, they obey all the dictates of justice, and avoid all that is improper. It is not needed in peaceful and calm times. It is hushed or perverted in times of excitement.

Every thing remains unsettled in this government. It feels bound by no rule, no construction or previous act of its Congress, or courts, or practice. It is important in all countries to settle great principles, and put all at rest that turn on them. If a difference arises as to the construction of the federal constitution, let the decision of the courts, or the usage under it, settle the question at once, and fix the government on some certain basis. The very essence of the English government is thus settled and thus fixed, until the usage and precedent become the constitution of the country, the rule of the government. The decisions under the great tribunals and chancellors of England settle all great questions, and govern the action of the courts ever after, as well as all the rights of property and persons dependent on them. In this restless government, however, all is kept afloat by the never ceas-

ing changes of the actors, the members of Congress, the courts of law, and the ups and downs of reckless parties. The government is ever on the wing, and never still long enough for a decision or precedent to strike her and fix her purposes. It is governed by no rule; no previous decisions, however deliberately made; by no precedents, however sacred and proper; by no usage, no matter what rights are thought to be settled under it. It swings itself loose from all these shackles as it calls them, and perches up for new action and fresh starts. No matter what titles and rights are put afloat by it, no matter what vested interests it shocks, no matter what old claims it lets loose again to harass and embarrass the country, no matter what records it disregards, or what usage, consecrated by the practice under it, may be overturned; all this goes for nothing, weighs nothing against its vacillating whims and new resolves.

The United States government started into existence very regularly and very properly; the federal courts took their proper place, and decided on the constitutionality of laws both of the central and State governments, and the friends to good order thought and hoped that all was working right, when suddenly up rose the States and gainsayed the decisions of that tribunal, and so they go now for nothing. The United States long acted on the principle that she had the power, if not the exclusive right, of banking, and under it made two national banks, running nearly forty years in their charters and action. During which time the courts, Congress, and all the States admitted the right. Millions of property became affected by it in some shape

or other. When, lo! after all this solemn acting and acquiescence, it is discovered by Virginia and several of the States, and by John Tyler, the accidental President, that it is all wrong, that no such power is given, that the precedent, with all its sacredness, goes for nothing, and that he was bound to veto the third charter granted under those circumstances! From the foundation of the government a tariff was laid, even for protection when thought necessary; or to countervail, and after a forty years action of that sort and usage, the democrats discovered that it was unconstitutional, and affected it accordingly. After the government had for a long time expended money on roads and some sort of internal improvements, and for thirty years had so acted and so regarded it, the democrats found out that it was unconstitutional to make a road or canal. After they had given one-sixteenth of the lands for schools, the same party found out that it was all wrong, and that they had no power over education.

No greater curse can befall a country than a government thus whimsical, thus unsettled in its purposes, thus afloat as to all the great policies of the country. There are then no rights guaranteed, no titles settled, no confidence built up to induce investments in any branch of business. As well might our business be subject to the whims of the grand Turk—as well might we be the subjects of some despotism, and look to chance for our rights, and depend on bribes to secure them.

Had our Federal Constitution been submitted to the great lawyers and chancellors of Europe—men whose memories are dear not only to the nations they lived in, but to all the human family, and

whose wisdom and justice are known to history—men listed above that nearest home feeling we have spoken of, above the unworthy interests and passions of party—men who had never been under State right influences, or any other feelings of a local, factional, ambitious, or corrupt nature—they would have all agreed as to the powers of the Federal Constitution on the subjects of war, internal improvements, the tariff, education, post office, State rights, Federal court, and all such great subjects upon which that instrument does speak plainly and distinctly. There would have been no difference of opinion among them. If such constructions had been announced to them, as have agitated this nation, and been so vehemently supported by party spirit, they would not have believed them possible! There must be some power to abate human passion, divest party of its injustice, and stay the hand of ambition from rapacity and bribery, or all is lost. No government can exist with corruption stalking abroad unchecked, with passion uttering its anathemas without fear or hindrance; or party interests combining in the open day and lending to each other the countenance and support of an unprincipled combination. The government of Robespierre, and his minions, did not denounce its opponents with more bitterness than does our party spirit, nor show a more thoroughgoing reckless party action! In vain may we expect under all this injustice, passion and corruption, that the still, small voice of the Constitution should be heard. Public opinion, as we said, in calm times governs all, checks all the oppressive acts of the government, and is adequate to guide aright without written prescriptions. Whoever, therefore, will take

the trouble to follow the constructions around the full circle of meanings given to this instrument, some contradictory, some contemptible, some degrading, and all tainted with self-interest, and discolored by passion, would come to the conclusion that governments are only entangled and embarrassed by constitutions, and convert them into an altar upon which the best interests as well as character of the nation are sacrificed to some demon of ambition. We have showed above how deeply constitutional differences enter into the feelings of disunion and stand ready to aid that catastrophe.

CHAPTER XIV.

CURRENCY—BANKS—STATE DEBTS.

It is necessary to a country's prosperity and good morals that its currency be not only sound, but uniform. All values become affected by a base currency, all interests shocked, and all occupations and professions nonplussed. An increase of the circulating medium, even when good and convertible, seems to enhance the price of every thing, but does, in reality, cheapen; because money is not worth so much. In this case, however, as long as we can pass it abroad, the abundance gives us advantages in foreign markets, when we buy, but is a disadvantage when we sell; because the production of the commodity costs more. If, however, the abundance be produced factitiously, that is, by debasing the coin or issuing paper that is not convertible, it not only ~~acts~~ injuriously on every value, interest and employ-

ment at home, but stands us on a very embarrassing footing in our intercourse abroad. It is then values become the deepest affected, and all other interests and occupations suffer. Too little money for the purposes of circulation, in the inverse ratio, shocks, also, and cramps the prices of every thing.

Specie will find its level, and through the channels of commerce come to that balance that equalizes things in all countries according to the wants and ability of each. No shock occurs to business as long as specie is the standard, nor does one nation gain the vantage ground over another then, but through productions and ability of each to produce or manufacture. When, however, the meddling and designing politicians of any country, either debase the coin, or create banks to flood the land with their issues, every thing gets into confusion. The revenues are affected, commerce is put upon prices that it knows not how to calculate relatively to other countries, and in the up-break of things, these meddling and designing politicians find their account. They ascribe the disorder to some measure of the opposition, and under pretence of correcting it, get possession of all the monied institutions. Politicians therefore, without honesty of purpose, create banks for two reasons, one to get the handling and distributing the funds, securing thereby much salary and influence: the other to have the closing and winding up of them; that in the wreck they may again appropriate much to themselves.

Banks can, in their very nature, never subserve a country in a commercial crisis. It is then that they too are deepest affected, and if they aim to preserve a correct specie basis, have to begin early to call in

and curtail their circulation to avoid runs and breakages. This effort of the banks to preserve their credit makes money still scarcer, and when most needed, withdraws their support from the suffering merchants and producers; thus ensuring a deeper crash and a wider spread ruin. What then becomes of the popular argument of the designing politician? that banks can and will aid all the classes of the community, and not only stimulate the productions, but aid in the sale and distribution of them. They do stimulate until every thing is inflated and factitiously overdone, and then leave all to chance or certain ruin. Twice have the thousand banks, created in the United States, inflated and put a false value upon every interest, by the issue of from two to three hundred million dollars of paper, and then either withdrawn their support, or, what is worse, stopped and left their rags without available value, to make confusion doubly confounded, and convulse the very heart of the community.

The demoralizing effect of this banking and false currency, is hard to calculate. It reaches every department of industry, every profession, and every interest, and stamps upon them baseness and uncertainty. Individuals finding every thing in jeopardy, play hide and seek, and resort to tricks and false pretences to preserve their property. Politicians are more immorally influenced than private individuals, for they throw themselves in the breach and catch what they can, right or wrong, under pretence of correcting the evil. A people comes out of such a crisis scathed and reckless. The virtuous see all property of the country passing into the hands of rascals and speculators, and come to the conclusion

that virtue and uprightness go for nothing, and are totally unavailable; and dishonesty flourishes until it loses its very infamy. A history of the currency, and particularly banking, in the United States, would be very curious and instructive.

The Constitution intended to give all control over every thing relating to the currency to the Federal government, and its framers, good honest souls, thought they had done so. That government made its mint and went to coining; but that process was too slow for this impatient people, and the States chartered hundreds of banks in the very teeth of that government, and issued ten paper dollars where it made one of metal. This operation engaged all interests, and affected every operation of the country. After a slight struggle, the power, although evidently usurped, was acquiesced in by every branch of the Federal power, even its courts. These overweening States finding that, have advanced boldly into the field of disobedience, and now deny to the Federal government any right to make a bank at all, or issue bills. So strong is this action of the States, that the very Presidents now admit it, and veto any bank charter passed by Congress!! The consequences of this outrage offered to the plain dicta of the Constitution, "that no State shall make money or issue bills of credit," has not only demoralized and made reckless and speculative the whole population, by putting every thing on uncertainties and stamping all interests with false values, but has built up strong parties in the nation in reference to the currency. One party goes for the proper construction of the Constitution, and would confine all action on, or control of the currency to the Federal

or Central power, so that it might be kept in the proper limits, and our intercourse with foreign countries conducted on the standard known to all, and not interfered with by the hydra-headed insignia of State devices, and State or local power. Another party goes for State power exclusively in banks. This embraces the Jeffersonian Democracy, and State right party, ceceders, nullifiers and reserved rights sticklers. The Locos, as they are called, finding that the people suffered so much in the crisis brought about by the banks, and that these people were crying out against all banks as an evil and a curse to the country, conceived the idea of a hard money currency only, and preach about yellow-boys, and real money, and build themselves up much by supporting that notion. A small party think the State and Federal governments have concurrent jurisdiction in regard to banking; this is a small and insignificant party, and like all cautious, or compromising propositions under excitement, go for nothing.

The banking power and currency questions, therefore, enter directly in the party movements that are distracting this people, and carry into them a monied interest that commands attention and must be heard. The issuing of bank paper, in the crisis alluded to above, was three or four times the amount necessary to a sound circulation and the real wants of the population. Hence not only the false value, we have spoken of, was stamped on every thing, but a factitious ability was given to the people to consume and use. The necessity of employing money thrown at them, stimulated all speculations; and the facility of always getting money when wanted, led

to the contraction of debts innumerable, for property thus stamped with three or four values, the fall of which to a fair intrinsic price, produced a total loss to the purchasers. This superabundance of money, whilst it was convertible into specie, induced the importation of foreign goods to twice the amount usually wanted, and even gave a credit in the foreign market much beyond the proper ability ordinarily employed and realized for such a purpose. When, however, the bubble burst, and this money failed to be convertible, and incapable of conforming to the specie standard, all was aback. There was no money to pay the foreign debt, or even interest on it; the whole population became discredited, and had to either become bankrupts or let their debts lie unpaid. All property became involved in this false value and indebtedness, until none, except the very few that were prudent, knew where they stood, or what to count on with any degree of certainty. No wonder, then, that intrigue, fraud, shuffling, and concealment were resorted to in order to save something in the general wreck of property. The change was so great, and so fell the sweep, that the nation and people, both discredited, flung back to the other extreme. Individuals, without income, stood deprived of even comforts, and had to curtail not only all luxuries, but go to work for the necessities of life. The nation that had been gaining great revenue from the excess of importations, had no means of support from the scanty and nominal invoices; and after dividing out an overflowing Treasury among the States, had to resort to loans; and not having credit for that, actually got along two years by issuing treasury paper and paying its daily dues

in it. All property fell to one-third of the forced or factitious rates, and could scarcely find a purchaser at that. Such a state of things, although it inflated commerce, could not fail to prostrate the manufacturing industry of the country, by the double prices of wages and raw materials it led to. Its effect on agriculture was equally injurious; because all classes ceased to labor when they found that they could get money without. And we actually, for one year, imported much of the flour we consumed from abroad; we who had been formerly oppressed with the article for the want of a market.

The worst effect of this abundance of money and easy credit that it gave, was the heavy debts the States were induced to contract abroad, and issue therefor their bonds in the shape of stock bearing interest. This debt amounts to two hundred million owed abroad, that was realized in actual money and spent on works of internal improvement, or in making banks. The portion put to banking was totally lost, and what was expended in roads and canals nearly so; for most of them lie unfinished, or lead to points where such works were not wanted, or would not pay an interest on their construction. One hundred million of this debt is suffered to lie without the principal or interest thereon being paid, or likely to be paid; a part of which actually repudiated under some pretence of irregularity in the creation of it. This indebtedness is a great deal worse in its character and effects than that of individuals. Here the national character is concerned and the national honor stained and disgraced. For no matter how the Federal government may evade it and shuffle, in the opinion of foreigners it is a National

debt, to all intents and purposes. Here is the field where the complexity of the government is seen and felt by foreign nations—where State rights, State sovereignties, and wheels within wheels, work badly and are not understood. Here is a case where a violation of the Federal Constitution, which forbid States issuing bills of credit, of course stock, is sure to involve us with foreign governments. When England reminds the Federal government that the States borrowed millions of her people and now either refuse to pay or deny the debt, we gravely tell her that the States are sovereign, had a right to contract, and that she must look to them for the money. When England demands payment from a State to her individual creditors, the State laughs in her face and says she can't pay it, or won't pay it, as the case may be. England goes back to the Federal government with this story, and is told that it can't be helped, that the Federal government has no right or power to pay it, unless authorized to do so by Congress. She applies, through her minister, to Congress to authorize the Federal power to pay it! The Congress reply that they are instructed not to pay it. Suppose then England should make a war, or reprisal upon this sovereign State to force her to pay; she meets the army of the Federal government ready to aid the State and repel the war! The Federal government, after pretending that she had nothing to do with it, is actually in the field with her armies to prevent the money being made out of the State. After the Federal Congress says she has nothing to do with it, and is not instructed to vote it, she is ready to vote men and money to prevent the State being forced to do right. This looks

mightily like a collusion to defraud, or hold on wrongfully to property got under false hopes, if not false pretences. Such an evasion would fail to be satisfactory to any independent foreign nation, and be mathematically certain to stamp with disgrace such a combination of sovereigns, or individuals even, and lead to a war. Absurd constructions and actions of this complex machinery of government, is sure to involve not only disgrace and war, but most likely the very existence of the nation. What nation can trust her, not only in money matters, or even in a common treaty, when the States claim to control and sanction it, or defeat it, if the inclination be so? What stand can we take among the nations of the earth, when our honor is gone, and the epithet of evasion so justly applies? Whatever tends to weaken the Federal government, to cast foul blots upon her escutcheon, and show to the world a discredited and dishonored name, will powerfully affect the States. They will have still less reverence and respect for her when they find her fame tarnished, and she not in a condition to reflect glory upon them. They will not stop to reflect that it is all owing to their conduct, to their repudiated and unpaid debts. It is thus that the sentiment of confederation becomes weakened and full play given to party spirit and that reckless feeling that disregards union in the government, or honor in the nation.

Since the currency of a country can produce all the confusion we have named—since it does demoralize a whole people, changes the value of all property, and all labor, and destroys all habits of economy—since it can prostrate the manufacturing thrift of a people, paralyze their agriculture, and inflate

their commerce to an unnatural and morbid state—since it can involve a nation in debts enough to discredit it, induce a foreign war, and tarnish the honor and glory that is the heart's blood of any nation—since it leads the nation and all the members, or States of which it is made up, into a shuffling collusion, unworthy of a practiced Jew, to evade the just debts they have contracted—since it weakens and outrages all the sentiments of honor, glory, and of justice, how powerfully must it contribute to disunion and an up-break of the government?

CHAPTER XV.

RELIGION.

All the sects known to the Christian calendar are found in the United States, and all flourish, yet show great bitterness of feeling towards each other. They have, from a sort of necessity and constitutional guaranty, balanced themselves into toleration politically; but in spirit and feelings are very intolerant. Although the Constitution of the Federal government, and of most of the States, secures to individuals freedom of opinion and liberty of conscience in regard to religion, they dare not express it, if at all departing from the received orthodox notions common to the leading sects. Their business and standing in society, as well as their political ambition and prospects, would be compromised by it. In this free country, therefore, a man has to wear his religious opinions in his own bosom, from policy. Those dogmas common to the four or five

leading sects that govern the land, must be bowed to and respected, or his business would suffer, his character be marked, and his prospects of promotion in the offices of his country be ruined. If a Jew, he must keep his own and the Christian Sabbath both. If a Unitarian, he must still pretend to worship three Gods. If a Deist, Turk, Pagan, Jew, Bramin, or even a Unitarian, he cannot give his testimony in some of the courts under the laws of some of the States, nor hold office. He cannot work, or even amuse himself on Sunday, but in obedience to laws unconstitutional—has to sit in a church he dislikes, or at home in the solitary contemplation of his own thoughts, or of the Bible. No matter how the virtues may adorn him, or how full of genius and intelligence he be, should he offer to serve his country in any office elective by the people, they would run him down by the hue and cry of Deist, Unitarian, Free Thinker, or some epithet equally odious.

The Puritans and Presbyterians feel that they have a claim to govern this continent, which they peopled under great sufferings and privations, and look with jealousy on the intrusion of the Episcopalians of England, and the Catholics of Europe. Although they can't make legal enactments against them, try to engross the people and prejudice them against them. The different leading sects of religion divide out the population amongst themselves in pretty distinct classes of society. The Episcopalians seize on the intelligent and fashionable, or cultivated citizens of cities, or old and rich settlements. The Presbyterians have the hard headed industrious class of thrifty merchants and farmers. The Puritans, under the name of Congregational-

ists, have New England. The Methodists and Baptists, the ignorant and wide-spread mass of the native people. The Catholics, the low ignorant classes of foreign emigrants; and thus each seems to have pretty distinct fields of action. Each overacts to show its zeal and earnestness, and is ready to do battle for its tenets, or join in action with the one that will help it carry some point. The Presbyterians seized on the literary institutions of the country and its colleges, promoted Sunday schools, and domestic and foreign active missionary establishments, to further their influence and head their neighbors. The others in their turn, had to do the same thing not to lose ground, or be thrown aback. The Episcopalians had to depart from their high tone, and decent, dignified worship, and turn evangelical to prevent the Methodists rooting them out. They now preach against innocent amusements, balls, theatres, &c., attend camp and prayer meetings, and night holdings forth, with all the rant of the Methodists, to make proselytes. The Catholics draw heavily on the propaganda funds of the Pope, and build large showy cathedrals, and colleges, and nunneries, to gather in the poor, and have their usual parade of charities and shows. But the Methodists walk through the land and carry the wide row by their zeal and fearful or prostrating rantings.

Happy country, you say, where all religions are so well balanced, and watch each other into zeal and usefulness!! where none have the support of law, or the arm of Government to lean on and aid in oppressive aims and pretensions! It would so strike a casual observer. When, however, he would feel their bitterness, know their smothered intoler-

ance, hear their low murmurings against each other and the Government, hear the loudly proclaimed pretensions of each, and see how readily they combine against liberty and freedom of thought, he would begin to think and feel differently. He would see that no innate principles, or good feelings for the rights of man, stay their hands, or check their ambition. Could they all gain a right to tithe, or a support from the coffers of the Government, by a combination, they would unquestionably do so, on the idea that a half of a loaf, or quartern, is better than nothing.

It is a curious fact, and one that could hardly be realized in Europe, that any religion, much less such a multiplicity of them, could support and even flourish without tithes or government patronage; yet it is the case, emphatically, here. The greater zeal, when individual support only is to be counted on, and the esprit de corps, when so many sects watch and vie with each other, are so active that no appeal is made in vain to the purses of their communicants, vast amounts are annually raised, not only to pay the clergy, but to build the churches and furnish them; found sectarian colleges, and endow them with libraries, presses and incomes; to send off missionaries to foreign countries or savage nations, and to make bible and tract societies. The sums thus raised are inconceivably great, and would not be believed by any that did not see the operation. There are, by the sectarian statistics of these religions, twenty thousand churches and meeting houses in the United States, and the estimate is that the low average of one thousand dollars are annually collected for each of these churches; for

salaries, repairs, pew rents, fires, printings, stationary, secretaries, and other expenses, leaving out the building, which makes the enormous sum of twenty million dollars. All this you are ready to say, is voluntary contributions; so it is in one sense—yet there is a sort of force put in constant and not to be resisted action, that makes it impossible to evade the payment of each one's part. Whoever stands aloof from the church, or refuses to contribute his part to some church, is marked, as we have said, and his business and popularity suffer in a degree of more consequence to him than this amount would be. Instead, therefore, of tithes and government support, they probe the human heart, and fatten on the pride, the character, the "esprit de corps," popularity, and aspirations of the community. You may look through the land, count polls, and will find not more than one in a thousand independent enough, or sufficiently regardless of public opinion, to refuse either to be a member of a church or to contribute his part, when the cap or subscription passes around. To make surety more sure, they send around ladies noted for their beauty, or zeal, or eloquence, or some other influence, whom the bachelors in particular cannot refuse.

The fact then becomes unquestionable, that religion finds more certain support, without the reproaches and reluctant compliances attendant on government protection; keeps her shrine pure, makes more proselytes, gathers in a greater proportion of the population, and gets more money for all her purposes, than under the strong arm of law. That the church thus situated cannot only better probe the conscience, and subserve virtue, but hap-

pily combine purity with interest, with ambition and pride. In England, France, and other countries, where the law takes care of religion, the people feel not only exempt from all personal responsibility in regard to it, but actually wage war upon it; associate it with the tyranny of the laws, the oppression of taxation, and make it a merit to abuse it on all occasions. Having nothing to hope from it in political aspirations, which scarcely reach the mass of the people; having the countenance of each other, and can gain nothing in social standing or character from the church, they stand aloof, assume a hostile attitude, and you may hear their low curses and murmuring forth at every corner, club, or election ground, against the established church.

The prevailing sects in the United States not only collect money, promote themselves, and affect the whole population in the way we have enumerated, but reach forth their strong Briarean arms into every department of the government, and control many of the operations. They make the State legislatures pass laws regarding the Sabbath, theatres, amusements, Sunday mails, Sunday excursions, Sunday traveling, and came near obliging the Federal government to stop its mails and commerce on Sunday. They oblige the post-office department to carry their millions of tracts free of postage, thus clogging the mail with many tons burden of not only useless matter, but even worse than useless, positively injurious. If you go to one of the colleges, to look into the library or literary arrangement, the first thing you hear is a canting prayer, or sermon, that seems in their tones a dictation to God, as well as an abuse of the devil. Go into

Congress, or a legislative hall of one of the States, and instead of seeing the presiding officer in the chair, you hear the same canting dictation to God, and the same strain of abuse lavished on the devil ; and on not only the wicked of mankind, but the moralist, who leads an exemplary life, dependent on virtue and his own conscience instead of the dogmas of the church.

The religion, therefore, of the United States, since it exerts such wide-spread influence, since it reaches every heart, every feeling, and every interest ; since it takes hold of the purse as well as the character and hopes of the people ; since it reaches its long arms into every political movement, legislates with the law maker, executes with the executors of the nation, judges with the courts of law, and is most busy at the elections, it cannot fail to have its full influence on party spirit, and all those sentiments that may lead to disunion, and a breaking up of the institutions of the country. It stands ready to officiate with the disaffected in politics, provided it could find its account in it—to aid secession, provided there be no secession from its pale or diminution of its power—to nullify, provided its shrine remain holy and untouched—to support State rights, provided the State supports its pretension—to see the confederation dissolved, provided it can gather up the fragments and parcel them out among themselves. On the proper crisis, therefore, and on an emergency, you will find religion never slack or inactive, but ready to throw its inflammatory materials into the hodge-podge, and claim its part. Party spirit, or the spirit of disunion, tinctured with religion, would be less compro-

missing, and run its course with more reckless certainty. We must regard religion, therefore, as a very active element in the political parties of this nation, and one from which we have much to fear in reference to the Union.

CHAPTER XVI.

SLAVERY.

How shall we approach this horrid subject; this blackest of all blots, and foulest of all deformities. Here are a people descended from the very centre of civilization and free institutions of Europe, bearing with them the full tide of liberal principles, and the very cap and essence of liberty, and boasting not only of their descent, but that they are more than worthy of their ancestors; that have sanctioned slavery in its most abject form, and now, by actual enumeration, have upwards of three millions of them. Just one half of the twenty-six States or sovereignties, claim to own slaves; and two territories, one of them the district of Columbia, the seat of the Federal power, and belonging to that government, apart from the State jurisdictions and State sovereignties. All other Christian countries, except this, Brazil and Spain, have relaxed the iron grasp that held human beings in slavery. Even the vassalage of Russia is shaken, and plans now maturing to waken it up into freedom and citizenship. These States hold on with a tenacity that knows no relaxation; with a purpose as determined as it is unrelenting. Light shines on them only to show more plainly the foulness of the stain. Civilization

is there only to refine their cruelty, and christianity only to ratify it with quotations from the Bible. The States interested raise their shield of sovereignty over it, and forbid the Federal government, or individuals, from touching it, or speaking or petitioning against it. They have reversed all the old notions of slavery, by making it too sacred to legislate on, or even remonstrate against. Witness the array of the slave States in Congress, that not only arrest all legislation and discussion on that subject, but the sacred right of petition—a right coeval with British liberty, and of importance enough to be in their bill of rights.

The bitter, interested, and susceptible feelings in regard to slavery have led the American Congress and the State Legislatures to violate some of the first principles of liberty, and of the very constitution. They refuse to receive petitions on the subject, and violate that sacred right of the subject. They justify opening the mail, and the twenty thousand deputy postmasters can, under pretence of looking for inflammable matter against slavery, examine its contents, and thus abuse the high confidence of that medium between man and man, through which the great commercial intercourse is carried on. The wishes and communications of the government, no matter how important, may be made known and defeated, if trusted to that otherwise safe and sacred channel. All secret and confidential correspondence may thus be exposed, and all trust between man and man destroyed. They violate the trial by jury, considered one of the best safeguards of liberty; and in the case of a slave being claimed as a runaway, on the warrant of a common

justice of the peace, without any jury passing upon it, he may be handed over into everlasting slavery. To try the right of property in a cow, or a horse, or a chattel, a jury has to intervene: but when a human being is claimed as a slave, when property in a soul is alleged, no trial by jury is necessary, this guarantee of the rights of persons and property is removed by the strong hand of arbitrary law, and the dungeons of human degradation and misery open their doors to receive their victims. The right of petition, therefore, the sacredness of the mail, and the still more sacred trial by jury, as well as the federal constitution, all stand violated and outraged by this bitter and reckless legislation growing out of the state of slavery.

The worst circumstance attending slavery in the United States, is the color. An everlasting mark is set upon the slave, that follows him even into freedom, if he be fortunate enough to arrive at that state. The colored man must be a slave, or the descendant of a slave; the brand of disgrace is upon him. Does he show his papers proving himself to have become free by some meritorious acts of his own, or the humanity of some master? or that he is descended from some free parents? still he can neither give his testimony against a white man, hold an office, nor vote at an election. He sits at no white man's board, enters no parlour, marries no white woman, nor can he remain in the very State where he did the meritorious act, or made his service, or was born, because the law forbids it. No matter what his intelligence may be, no matter what the Federal or State constitutions may speak of the equal rights of man, the great guarantees of personal

liberty, no matter what right the citizens of one State may have in any other, it concerns him not. He is out of the pale of all right and protection. If he be demanded as a slave, he is borne off without the verdict of a jury; if not, he is ordered out of the State, or imprisoned and again sold into slavery, if he does not obey. Does he go into the next slave State, expecting to find an asylum there? Alas! he finds it not, but is pushed further on the same degrading principle. He goes then to a free State, assuring himself that he will be welcome there; but there too the mark is noted, and he forbid to remain. A vagabond on the face of the earth, he is forced to expatriate himself, leave associations that are dear to him, though marked by sufferings and servitude, and go abroad amongst strangers, perhaps to the fell regions of Africa, dependent on the contingencies of a poor colonization society for a pittance of support.

No condition of things on earth is as much to be deprecated as slavery in the United States, except the state of a free colored person, which is still more degrading and more deplorable. The former has the support and responsibility of a master to lean upon in sickness and affliction; the latter is cast forth without property, without education, without character, without rights or the countenance of society, on his own responsibility, and I may add, without any abiding place. The Roman slave, or Russian vassal, as soon as his bonds were broken, walked forth a free man, and merged into the great mass of citizens. No color degraded him, no natural mark pointed to his base origin, and mocked his freedom. The very services that he had rendered

as a slave, nerved his arm and fitted him for heroic action in the army, or distinction among the athletæ. In the United States, however, a freed man that had been a slave, cannot serve in the army or navy, or enter any lists where glory or distinction be attainable. He has to drag out his degraded existence in the low and neglected walks of society, and there mark his every step and every word with humble caution, lest he jostle or offend some of the white sovereigns. If a free colored person sues for his rights in court against a white man, he must establish his claim by the testimony of white persons, or written documents, for though twenty of his own color know the facts, they cannot testify to them. The slave is under the power of his master, who can punish him with lashes, pillory, imprisonment, and all the other modes of cruelty short of taking his life.

We have in the preceding remarks, showed the condition of the slave, and of his congener the free colored person. It only now remains to trace the effects of it, and run out the consequences that naturally flow therefrom. We will show first its effects upon the morals of the country. A mind that can reconcile to itself the holding of a human being in slavery, and treating him as a brute, must, ipso facto, be blunted and divested of much of the delicacy necessary to the pure moral feelings. He acquires a domineering, lordly, and offensive manner, that accompanies him in his intercourse with the world, and renders him often offensive; hence duels are common among that population, rencontres and bowie knife attacks. The slave owner is more regardless of the laws of his country, and often takes

what he calls crimes and punishments into his own hands, and hence the idea of Lynch law, meaning a summary mode, without the aid of courts or tribunals, of hanging, whipping, cropping and otherwise punishing; much more common to the slave States and among slave owners than to other districts. The slave owners are more reckless of character, and care but little about punctuality in the payment of their debts. They are more given to concubinage, fornication and adultery; because there is always an object, and sometimes a desirable one, in their view, in their house, under their rule and control, with which to gratify these passions, and pamper lewdness. The slaveholder is often a gambler; because he has all his time, and begins for amusement what often ends in ruin and a reckless course. The slave owner is a drinker and a reveller; because all the time idle, too often ignorant, and resorts to company like himself, that find their only resource in hunting, gambling and the bottle, until this last fastens upon him, and he habitually destroys himself. The slave owner is often a sloven and bad mannered; because he feels his consequence in his slaves, rather than in decent clothing and amiable demeanor. The morals, therefore, of the slave States must, in the very nature of the case, be comparatively bad, must be reckless, arrogating, presuming, unamiable, and dissipated, and the high tone and pride they assume, do not compensate for the want of purity in their private character, the want of amiableness in their manners, the want of regularity in their habits, and a just punctuality in their dealings. On emergencies, therefore, where great prudence and calculation should govern, this population

would be grossly deficient. Their acts are often generous, but their generosity is impulsive; and the patronage they lend to the arts, either vouchsafed or flows from pride rather than any love of the more refined sciences.

The history and origin of slavery in the United States, involve England more deeply than this people. The mother bestowed this horrid legacy upon the child, and the offspring of these slave-dealing English in this country are so much entangled in its existence and results, that they seem altogether incapable of an effort to get rid of it. Finding it fastened upon them, and the door in a manner closed to emancipation by the strong conviction pervading all classes, that the condition of the free negro is worse than the slave, and more injurious to the country, they hold on and endure all its evils rather than make the trial. All now join in the expression of a deep conviction, that slavery is wrong; and if to be done over again none would be found hardy enough to introduce it. The slaveholders feel it a sort of duty to hold on, and by a heavy product, and the profits of their labor, to make up for the disgrace and heaviness of the burthen, and the responsibility of keeping them.

The productions of the country, its exports, and consequently its resources, are certainly increased by slavery. We enter upon the cultivation of heavy staples, that require great organization and an intensity of labor by the aid of slaves, such as tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar, indigo, and so forth, and turn the slaves into these cultures under overseers, and on a system that free laborers would not brook or yield to. Often swamps, and wet lands and heavy em-

bankments or ditches have to be wrought, and a certainty of ill health attendant upon such operations. The slave having no will of his own, is turned in, and his labor found very productive. Europe is almost as much concerned in this operation as we ourselves, since they spin up the cotton, consume the sugar and rice, and luxuriate on the tobacco thus produced, and millions of their population literally dependent on these operations for bread and support. These staples give an annual export of one hundred millions to the United States, that would have no existence without slave labor. We feel and know from every day declarations and failures, that a free white population in this country would neither grow sugar, rice, cotton, nor tobacco for export. This export constitutes the ability nearly entirely of the country to import, and becomes the basis of much luxury, great commerce and trade, and large interchanges at home, as well as a direct income to compensate the slave owner for his disgrace and responsibility. The morality and disgrace apart, slavery in this respect is doing good to the whole world, and to this country in particular, by draining her swamps, encountering her malaria and deadly climates, and developing such vast products, and such profitable ones also.

The American master has more organization and more energy than all others, except, perhaps, the Roman. One million of the three millions of slaves in the United States, will be found by examination on tracts of country within which would not be fifty thousand whites, and most of those agents or overseers. Yet there in those sickly regions in the midst of the malaria, the discipline is so perfect that

no disturbance, no insurrection has occurred. The few insurrections of a very local and trifling kind that have occurred, took place near dense settlements of white owners, where the slaves had been pampered and petted. The overseer, and frequently the owner and his family, live among one thousand slaves, no other whites near, in the most perfect security and confidence. This result would not be believed by any abstract theorist who did not know and witness it every day. Although the master carries himself stiff and at a distance from his slaves, and in the notion of an abolitionist, the slave at open war all the time with him—yet many instances of great attachment exist of slaves to their master, and great affection; many instances of self devotion of the slave to save the master, or some of his family, from injury or death, and the cases of voluntary sacrifice on the part of the slave are innumerable.

Another fact exists, and can be established by unquestionable data, that goes to show the honest and confidential character of the slave, and that the State of warfare does not exist between him and his master. I mean the losses of property, either daily entrusted to the slave, or daily and hourly under his control. It is ascertained that the loss of dwelling houses by fire, is not more in the slave States than the free. The books of the Insurance offices prove this. If, therefore, premiums be a little higher, it is because the capital of Insurance offices is generally held in the free States, and this abolition idea influences them. There are fewer cotton gins burnt, although under the charge of negroes, and the whole atmosphere in them inflammable, than factory buildings among the free States. By posi-

tive enumeration, there are twenty-three thousand gins in the cotton region, and not more than about nine to ten annually burned, and most of them by unavoidable accident. Secret destruction, revenge, murder, rape, and such crimes, are rarer in the slave States than the free, where the slave would be involved.

Slavery is most felt in the defences of the country, and its numerical force and strength. One half of the whole population is not only de hors the combat, by the fact of this half being slaves; but it would and does require one half of the remaining half to stand organized at home in a way to keep these slaves at their work, and in dread. One fourth, therefore, of the population in the slave States, is all that could be counted on as available on any emergency, or invasion, or civil commotion. With this fact, however, staring them in the face, the owners of slaves are perfectly reckless and fearless of any internal commotion or action from the other States, or the abolition part of them. They meet the question more than half way, and defy abolitionism. They would rather have a disunion of the States than not, to judge by the reckless way they speak of it. And when the fact of disunion comes up, they will be the first to hail and adopt it. Slavery, therefore, evidently weakens the defences of the country, and after counting out the slaves, would leave only a fourth of the white population available, even where the slaves remain quiet and do not mix in. Districts thus situated, should be very cautious not to provoke invasion, or become involved in war. The portion of the population left for general defence,

in such a case, would not be very efficient for a long fatiguing campaign, being made up of slave owners not used to continued fatigue, although great for a sudden movement. The existence of slavery banishes that class of hardy laborers that could do good service in a long and arduous train of services.

It is in the politics of this country, that slavery is working the greatest mischief. It taints all the elections, and all the legislation of the country. In the local legislatures of the free States even, it enters and divides them, by the question of abolition or no abolition, and in their elections in a still more fierce and obstinate manner. It unquestionably turned the scale in the last Presidential election, and ensured the triumph of democracy. In the national Congress, however, its action is most bitter and most threatening. As we have already stated, it has led to a violation of the constitution, and of the most sacred principles of liberty, in the morbid and reckless legislation on that subject. It has not only accomplished this, with which it might be content, but tinges almost every act of the government with its jealous and sensitive suspicions. The struggle is to have the President from the slave States; to keep up the balance of half the States having slaves; so that the Senate may check any action against it. This balance is about to be broken, by the free territories of Iowa and Wisconsin overbalancing Florida, the only territory in the slave part, and when admitted will give one State of a majority against slavery. To counteract this, the slave States will refuse admission to the free territories as long as they can, and against the right those territories have under a standing law, to be admitted

when they shall have sixty thousand of a population; this will lead to a terrible excitement, and almost dissolve the confederation. In order to get over this, the parties, rather than dissolve the Union, seize upon Texas, and will perhaps on California, and certainly Oregon, and make them slave States to keep up the balance. This will involve them in war with Mexico, and very likely England. If it does not lead to a war, it will give still further extension to the frail existence of the government, and spread the thin texture of its population so widely that all sympathy between the parts will be lost, and like man in old age, insensibly fall into decay and dissolution. Scarcely now are the pulsations of the heart felt in the distant extremities, then they will all the time remain cold and chilled into torpor. The question of the annexation of Texas and organizing Oregon, already begins to agitate the American Congress; and California is to be considered a part of Texas under some strained construction. Deeply are these questions already exciting the public, and still more deeply are they destined to inflame party spirit.

All party spirit is mild, when compared to the feelings growing out of slavery. The Federalist and the Democrat; the State right party and the National; the Loco-focos and the Whigs; the Tariff and anti-Tariff; can all greet each other, extend some courtesy, use some civility, and make some allowance for each other's opinions, and can debate with some calmness their respective notions and claims. The slave holder, however, and the Abolitionist; the slave and free States, have no community of feeling, are armed against each other cap

a pie, and ready to make war to the hilt. All the great policies of the Nation, are postponed or interfered with by this uncompromising feeling. Sooner would they see the Union dissolved, than concede an iota on this subject; indeed they so declare themselves. The line is drawn geographically, and is the Rubicon, and if passed by the zeal of the friends of humanity or the abolitionists, adieu to the confederation.

The States, not content with the strong acts of Congress in favor of slavery, have usurped the power of the Federal government on several occasions, and passed laws of a national character, which tend directly to involve the country with foreign nations. South Carolina forbids colored sailors entering her ports by a positive law, in the teeth of the Federal constitution and of all the commercial regulations entered into with other countries, based upon the solemnity of treaties, and actually takes such sailors out of the vessels and throws them into prison. Foreign nations remonstrate against this, but the Federal power looks on and dares not act against the laws of a free, sovereign and independent State. Can any thing be better calculated to lead to war and difficulties; or more certainly involve the nation? Because a slave or two concealed themselves in the holds of some New York coasting schooners, that entered the waters of Virginia, and made their escape as soon as they reached shore; and because the Governor of New York refused to turn over the masters of these vessels as negro stealers, to be hung under the laws of Virginia, she passed a law totally prohibiting all vessels owned or sailing from New York, to enter her waters; and when they do,

captures them and their crew, and obliges them to pay such fine as she levies on them, before they can get off. Georgia has made similar laws in reference to the State of Maine, and enforces it. This is in the very face of the Constitution and acts of Congress, allowing and guaranteeing free trade and intercourse between the States. Yet the Federal government does not act to prevent it, or punish such as are engaged in it, when done. Such is the fear and dread that the central power entertains of the States, that all their acts pass unnoticed and unpunished. The humanity of individuals acting together in a society called the colonization, has planted a colony on the coast of Africa called Liberia, and have now several thousand free negroes there, in rather a comfortable and flourishing condition. This colony is not recognized by the Federal government at all, or any State, and so unrelenting is the feeling in regard to slavery, that Congress dares not loan its vessels of war to carry out the colonists, nor move in its protection when threatened by the ferocity of the neighboring tribes, the rapacity of the slave traders, or by the conquest of any European nation.

No matter what act of the Federal government or requirement of its constitution has to be carried out; no matter what cause of humanity has to be subserved; no matter what great policy in regard to labor has to be regulated; first the feelings of the slave holders have to be consulted, to know whether they sanction it, or whether that interest has done or enacted aught that is different. Individuals are stayed from making any novel arrangement in regard to their own slaves, showing more humanity,

or getting up more comfort and fixings for their slaves, and are told by their neighbors that they must cease such a system, as it will spoil the slave, and be a bad example for that interest to others. All education, even the rudiments, are penally forbid to the slaves. All abolitionists that enter the slave States, are hung up without trial; all books, pamphlets and letters, on that subject, are burnt by the common hangman; all religion, except in such way as the masters vouchsafe, is forbid. Negro preachers are whipped as disturbers of the peace; and any white man found preaching to the slaves on a plantation, is hung up as an abolitionist. An Egyptian darkness broods over this land of slavery, and the leaden sway of the master knows no laws but his own will in the government of the slave, admits of no control but his own interest in his treatment of them. The Union, therefore, is not only threatened, but in a manner under the morbid control of slavery. All the fiercest and most to be dreaded party feeling, derives its force from it. And that reckless spirit that would throw to the four winds this confederation, uproot all the institutions of the country, trample upon law, constitution and treaties, and mock at all humanity and abstract principles of justice and liberty, is fed by the pride of and interest in slavery. In these days of extended liberality, of amelioration in all conditions of humanity, and of light and right, such a state will not be long endured. The northern free States will leave those morbid, proud and tyrannical masters and States, to themselves, to the action of their own injustice and violence, and to the festerings of the greatest evil on earth within their own bosoms. It

is now more from courtesy, and a wish not to despoil this government of experiment, and this nucleus of liberty, than any sanction they would give to slavery, that keep them attached to the slave holding States. The free States would make a strong power, and have territory enough to satisfy any people. It is the slave States that would suffer most in disunion. Without the aid of the free States then, to secure order and suppress any insurrections, convulsions and ruin would await them.

The Constitution secures to all free persons a free intercourse with all the States, and equal rights within all. But the free negro, as we have said before, is not allowed to enter any, live in any, or carry on business in any. He is driven from State to State; hunted as a felon or wild beast, and ordered out or imprisoned and sold again into slavery, if he disobeys. It is amusing to see this babbling instrument called the constitution, after uttering great truths and great principles, and parading the rights of man and the guarantees of liberty in a way to win the friends of mankind, suddenly become silent when popular prejudice or interest are opposed to its dicta. After pronouncing all men equal, having equal rights, entitled to equal protection; privileged to live, travel, or transact business in any or all the States, it closes its oracular mouth when the free negro, the Indian, or the slave is in question. We see its broad escutcheon soiled with partial and unjust acts, pretending to be under its very sanction. A constitution either goes for nothing, when human passions are up, or is basely prostituted, and so construed as to be made to sanction the acts of party and of passionate interest. It is, therefore,

worse than nothing, for then some sense of shame, or some force of natural justice, or reason, would govern the case. When those land marks of regular government can be removed at the will of party, and the very foundations disturbed, what security is there for the institutions of the country? or what guaranty for human rights? So strongly does the policy of the slave interest prevail, and so rigidly does it dictate, that a master in most of the States cannot, even if willing, emancipate his slaves, no matter how benevolent a motive he may be under, or how meritoriously the slave may have acted. It is against a law to manumit, and the chain must be worn on for life. No wonder that the slave, after having ran away from him, sometimes voluntarily returns into slavery; because he has no property, no education, no character, finds no friends, no abiding place, and can carry on no business in the other States!

Long will slavery endure in the United States; because it wears a natural mark; because its labor is profitable; because the nabob pride of the master delights in the power and control that ownership gives to him, and the luxurious indulgence it affords him the time and the means to enjoy. The slave owners are thrown into each other's arms, and upon each other's sympathies, the more determinately, because the spirit of abolition and liberal principles is abroad, and is making such efforts to grasp the monster and remove the evil and the blot. They have increased their discipline tenfold and their vigilance, and have thrown a cordon of watchfulness around it, that arrests all interior attempts, and prevents all external access and attack. An unwonted energy is now

exerted, that knows no relaxation. The unhealthfulness of the climate, too, and the swamps of the southern States, will favor the duration of slavery ; because white men cannot exist there and perform the task. The innate feeling of humanity, and the tendency in man to ameliorate his condition, reaches not the slave owner, who regards all the world at war with him. He feels exempt from acts of philanthropy, because others have taken the responsibility of it without consulting him. It must, however, be admitted, that it is hard to shut out light and liberal principles. They will penetrate all outward guises, and shine upon the very midnight of slavery. The master will in spite of himself, be acted upon by the progress of opinion, the wishes of the great world, and the slave catch some glimpses of the light of freedom and his natural rights, and learn to feel his strength. The very fears of the master, and his guarded precautions, convince the slave of the master's weakness and of his own power. And, finally, when the labor of free men becomes more cheap and more abundant, the profit of the slave less, and the master's responsibility increases, he will rid himself of the disgraceful, troublesome, dangerous and unprofitable property, and free himself from the slave. For the master is destined to run away from the slave, not the slave to much extent from the master. The slave will be left in the occupancy of his swamps, for no process can remove three million men from any soil. It never has been done, not even under the most absolute despotism; they may be regarded as fixtures of the soil, as a part of this nation, this people. Slavery will in the end take care of itself. In the mean time, it will be

a sure means of dissolving the Union, and breaking down this confederation.

CHAPTER XVII.

LANGUAGE AND JEALOUSY OF THE RICH.

Most of the United States speak the English language in tolerable purity, and cannot suffer very much from a multiplicity of tongue. Small portions, however, do speak the French and German. Louisiana, particularly, has a distinct language, and the States formed out of it have a French feeling that sympathises not at all with the other States. On any emergency, any local up breaking, or any idea of a disunion that would build up a government in Louisiana, or on the Gulf of Mexico, the French of that section would be very active, and join any party that would favor either their separate existence, or a return to the bosom of the Belle Francais. They are ready to avail of any great party movement in the United States, to join the side that would most favor them, and leave them some control, or some power that would gratify them. It is always dangerous to have a portion of the population in any country speaking a different language. Sympathies, concert of action, and that identity that is necessary to amalgamation and a concentrated government, require the people to use the same tongue. Party spirit is always ready to turn to account any disaffection, any thing that goes to estrange or disjoin portions of the population.

The Germans of Pennsylvania, and the new Ger-

mans and Swiss, who are crowding into this country, bringing with them and keeping distinct their native language, form another distinct class. Already do the votes of the new comers turn the elections in Ohio, Illinois, and some other States. The Pennsylvanian Dutch, or Germans, also have been a main stay and support of the democratic party of the United States from Jefferson's time up. They never have swerved in their votes. They are extremely ignorant, unacquainted with all the measures of the nation, and wait to be guided and led in all cases. The democratic party, owing to their greater activity, and prying, grovelling, intriguing nature, have met this population, and by a show of friendship, and some cant explanations of motives and denunciations of the other party, have controlled their votes, and fixed them permanently on their side. Nothing now can shake their faith in these leaders, and they would lend themselves to them, and go with them under all circumstances. Should democracy erect its standard and undertake to place the opposite party under the ban, and give to itself, or to its own States, exclusive power, these Germans would go with them and huzza their acts, no matter how proscriptive or how disastrous. Should the embouchure of the Mississippi river claim to be the centre of a south-western empire or State independently organized, and existing apart from the northern, or eastern, or middle States, the French would favor the plan, and expect to govern it, or have a powerful influence in it. They now have no voice strong enough to be heard, no influence that is felt in the confederation, which is to them a very mortifying circumstance. Language may, therefore,

be reckoned among the appreciable things that may be destined to act with party and favor the tendency to disunion.

JEALOUSY.

Jealousy of the rich, prejudice against the cultivation of literature and refined manners, are calculated to do infinite mischief. The democratic party have fully succeeded in separating the rich and the poor, the ignorant and learned, the cultivated and the rough mannered, the gentleman of fortune and the laborer from each other. They have taken the poor and ill mannered into their own keeping, and as we have said before, by extending the suffrage so as to give them votes, have through them control of the elections, and keep up their own party. To meet the views of these contracted and often corrupt dregs of the population, the democratic party have to advocate low and grovelling measures, that have no national character in them, and lead to no national wealth or prosperity. To convince them that they are their friends, they excite their prejudice against the better and more intelligent classes. They teach the poor laborer, or peasant, to believe that his rich neighbor is an aristocrat, and would favor a strong government to enslave him. They teach the rustics and unmannered to believe that fine manners are apings of the foreign courtiers, of whose corruption they have heard so much. They impress upon the ignorant the idea that learning is full of arrogant pretensions, and calculated to overreach them, and out wit them in the legislation of the government. They tell them that the federalists are monarchists; go for the re-establishment of the English government, and would fatten on the poor of the

land. Foreign immigrants being rude, illiterate and degraded, they seize upon them and make them tools. They tell the Germans and Irish on their arrival in the country, that unless they support their democratic measures and party, they had better have remained vassals of the German princes, or the poor ground down peasants of the Irish landholders, and live like pigs on a few potatoes. This state of warfare is most unfortunate in any country. It prevents, as we have said in a former chapter, the comfortable patronage and kindly feelings with which the wealthy would cherish the poor. It prevents that intercourse between the refined in their manners and the rough emigrant that would control the votes and opinions of foreigners, or that would shed a softness over them, and light up a confidence in their political relations, that would serve the country. They impart no taste, no love of reading, no elevated views to these ignorant voters, so unworthily let into a suffrage. They are left steeped in hatred and prejudice, as well as fixed in their grovelling politics and views.

This hatred and prejudice is so deeply cherished and fixed upon them, that they incline to violence and agrarianism. The horrid doctrine of an ultimate division of property is often talked of, and, although they dare not act on it, yet they are familiarizing the monster to their minds. The humor they are fostered into, and the disorganizing views the party that controls them hold, carries this class to favor all those doctrines that go to interfere with vested rights. They advocate and hail the stopping of all laws and executions, and taking away characters, that one legislature cannot bind another or pos-

terity. They are taught to decry all national character, and to look upon national glory as an ignis-fatuus that does the poor man no good, and would lead to sacrificing all for the rich. These condescending democrats tell them that they must take the making of laws into their own hands to avoid oppression. That they alone know and feel what is good for themselves, and must carry it out. That they must not only make the laws, but execute them. That wealth is the legitimate subject of taxation only, and that all poll taxes or excise are improper and unjust. By these sort of feelings and views the country is ground down, all her institutions placed on narrow and contracted ground, the worth and intelligence and substance of the country driven from the polls and placed in the back ground, and nothing accomplished that would redound to the glory and prosperity of the nation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POOR.

In no country on earth are the poor so well taken care of as in this. The class of low and comparatively poor people that the general suffrage laws let into power and influence, are powerful. And the democratic party with which they always act, and for whose low and selfish measures they have a sympathy, not only take care of the poor, but build castles for them to live in. They tax the rich and the wealth of the land to support these establishments, and stint not; because they know that they them-

selves pay but little towards them, and that their enemies, as they kindly call the rich, will have to support them. All who choose to say that they need the poor rates, or that satisfy the managers, who generally are chosen by a kindred race, that they are entitled to such charity are let into the poor houses and asylums, or what is worse, have an allowance made them at their own houses, where they often frolic on it and get drunk at the public expense. Five thousand persons in New York, with a population of 340,000 souls, receive public charity annually, costing the city about \$200,000 a year.

Reflection convinces all, and the best writers on the subject admit, that the poor rates create paupers. They grow up to the rates, whatever they be; the pigeon holes are always filled and the martin boxes always occupied when put up to hand. The provision is a bounty to idleness, a reward to vagrancy. The portion of mankind destitute of pride, or character, or an innate aptitude for labor, or industry, will resort to the poor rates rather than work. What is worse than all, if they have a little property they waste it, because they know and feel that they can have this resort. All providence is lost, all forecast for the future is lulled by this sure bank upon which to draw. When they be induced to work and earn any money, it is merely to be able to have an additional means upon which to frolic, and indulge their dissipated habits. Nothing is laid up for the future, for old age, sickness, and winter even. When they can no longer bask in the sun and beg; when winter with its chills approaches, and want pinches, the poor house and the poor rates are the sure resort. There they go to batten upon the legal contributions

of the rich, and without thanks consume what is forced by impolitic and unjust laws from the grudging hands of the wealthy. England would convince us if a lesson were wanted, and our eyes open to the fact, that poor rates create and perpetuate pauperism. And although we see the huge burthen upon the backs of the English capitalists and the English nation, yet we put our shoulders to it, and shrink not from the growing weight.

In this country a greater proportion of poor are destined to appear to the population, and a heavier burthen destined to be carried by the substance of this land, than even in England, because it is here connected with politics. Party spirit here cherishes it as a part of itself. The democracy of the land has given them votes—and even poor houses have been raked to control the polls. When that is not the case, yet the poor or paupers are a-kin to the voters under the general suffrage privilege; from the fellow feeling in the case, the laws in favor of them will be given the greatest possible extent, in order to bear down the rich or tax them. The large funds thus raised are distributed and administered by some kindred poor voters and office holders, who derive much profit and consequence from it, and from which their party gains much consideration and strength. I consider, therefore, that pauperism is destined to act a very conspicuous part in this nation. It not only will impoverish and deeply tax the rich and the property of the land, but will aid party in its lawless grasps. When party spirit be put to its shift, and shall need all its resources on any emergency, pauperism will be a ready aid. When the question shall arise of a continuation of

this confederation or not, these people thus pampered by a party that formed them for its own use, will contribute its legions, and swell the triumph of the democracy of the country which ever way it may incline, and stick to the loaves and fishes, or be ready to pull down the wealth of the land, and share it out among them and their abettors.

CHAPTER XIX.

NEW STATES—UNEQUAL REPRESENTATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SENATE.

These circumstances are a source of much dissatisfaction with the sections of this Union, and considered by the Democracy as aristocratic features in the body politic. New States, however, stand on a different footing, and instead of aiding aristocracy, are laid hold of by the Democracy to strengthen its cause. They are admitted as soon as they reach sixty thousand of a population, a mere handful, and have the weight of a full grown State. The citizens of them are generally ignorant of politics, and of the great measures and policies of the nation. They are merely frontiers-men, uncultivated, and illiterate, and require to be guided and led. Democracy, ever ready by its officiousness, intrigues, and perfect organization, and from a natural congeniality, lays hold of them and never fails to enlist them on its side. The Democrats flatter them by hurrying their admission, and offering to give them the public lands within their boundary, or to extend the mail to them, or whip off the Indians near their borders

or within their limits, until they hail that party as their only friends, and their principles as the only conservatives of liberty. These States, therefore, become, as a matter of course, highly Democratic, ultra in all their notions of liberty, and contracted in all their views of the Federal government and its policies. Without asking the question you may take it for granted that the new States are not only Democratic, but go for hating England, go against the tariff, against commerce in its liberal shape, against national glory or honor, and lead in all the narrow, local and unjust measures proposed or passed. They hate New York for its strength and resources, and call her the Empire State. They denounce New England, because she manufactures and supplies them with the necessities of life. All the old and respectable States, and all the fine institutions of the country, and all the foundations of literary establishments; and every wish to extend canals and intercommunications to them, are deprecated as useless, and as redounding to the old States, not to them.

This small handful of people in a new State, have in the Federal Senate, as much influence as New York with three million. With sixty thousand people they balance the vote in that body of the richest, oldest, and not only the strongest States in the Union, but the most experienced and best cultivated. They give no credit to the original thirteen that achieved their independence, and extend to them no respect or courtesy. Although the public lands are a national domain, and ought to be used and availed of according to the population of each State respectively, yet these new States, forming now a strong

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vote of nearly one-half of the Confederation in the Senate, claim to have this domain given exclusively to them, because the acres happen to be within their limits. They daily threaten to seize on it, and will in a very few years, when their vote shall become a little stronger. It is one of the weakest points of this weak government, to suffer so many contemptible little States to be formed and admitted into the Union on equal terms with the original strong and experienced States. It prostrates all her institutions, and throws aback all that was built up by the practice of years and the respectability, intelligence and wealth of the old States. A horde of ruthless, illiterate, and uncourteous backwoodsmen rush into the National councils, debase all the noble feelings of the Federal government at home, and by their rude address and reckless manner, injure us in our intercourse with foreign nations. They secure missions abroad to which they are not entitled, or thwart national measures and treaties at home, when presented to them for action or ratification. The government is let down, loses its high tone, and finds its character and standing abroad affected by it.

They give a sure guaranty to the democratic influence, and keep that party built up in a way to perpetuate its existence, and aid it in all its narrow and anti-national measures. They carry on the warfare against cultivation, respectability and wealth; and support all the agrarian, disorganizing, unjust notions and acts. I consider these new States joining and supporting the Democratic party, the natural consequences of the rough, uncultivated character of their people. They naturally war upon all fixed principles, all venerated institutions, all respectabili-

ty of character and science, because they feel all the independence in their woods of a wild Indian. They never having been in a condition to appreciate the better state of things, cannot realize their worth and usefulness. This shows, however, that they should not be let into powers and influences that they do not understand, and the value of which they cannot estimate. On the great question of disunion, these States are more forward and more reckless than any others. They have more to gain and less to lose. They feel that their woods will take care of them, and shelter them from any political storm. They not only espouse all the ultra principles and join the Democracy of the country, but will lead off in disunion. They will be the first to form a fragment of a government in the West or South, and to join in the up-breaking, expecting to get the public lands in their bounds, and other advantages. Wo the day when the sacred principles of this holy Confederation were entrusted to such children and minors in governmental affairs! Alas! the policy that after years of revolutionary toil and privation, placed all that was gained, all the independent national existence in the grasp of a handful of ignorant people, or allowed it to be let down into contempt, by the want of intelligence, respectability and character of these woodsmen. The tendency of this Confederation is continually downwards, by letting into power and control such unworthy materials, and is as continually weakened by the same process. Its sterling value is debased by such alloy, its brightness and honor tarnished by this unpolished coating.

The aristocratic feature of equal power to all the

States, in the Senate, instead of strengthening the government, weakens it. Besides the turn that has been given to the small new States who have equal power in that body with the oldest and strongest, all the small States, such as Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and others, are without a character that would impart strength and dignity to the Confederation, are without a resource that would enrich it, or the population that would subserve it on emergency. In the connection of large States with small, there is more character and honor conferred than incurred. It is all sacrifice on one hand, and all gain on the other. The small States are liable to be influenced, and often are, by party, or by small circumstances, and thus interfere with fixed policies or great purposes.

Another source of great dissatisfaction and injustice is found in that unequal representation growing out of slavery. Three-fifths of the slaves are represented in the National councils, which gives to a voter owning one hundred slaves sixty votes in addition to his own. This slave-holder scouts the idea of his slaves being any thing but property, and is insulted if human souls and human beings are talked of in reference to his slaves. He holds on, however, to the advantage in the vote and the consequent advantage in the Congress of his country with the tenacity of a leech. This state of things is so glaringly inconsistent and unjust that it shakes the very foundations of the government. This is the advantage that has enabled the slave States to pass those laws violating the right of petition, the sacredness of the mail, and the trial by jury, and arrogate so much to themselves in the National coun-

cils. The honest New England farmer feels less his own consequence, and appreciates less the value of the Union that is thus constructed, when he knows that he is no better than a slave and a half in the elections of his country; and that those measures often dearest to his interests, and to his life and honor, are dependent on slaves to be defeated or carried. Patriotism depends much on our convictions of justice in the construction of the government, as well as equity and fairness in its administration. Our love of country is much damped by the discovery of partiality and favoritism. It is much, therefore, to be regretted, that this foul blot exists, and this inconsistency is so manifest. If slavery exists at all from a sort of entailed necessity, in the name of God let it be regarded as property only! not both property and power! No matter in what direction we turn, to what party, or measure, or policy we look, we can't fail to discover in it the seeds of discontent; something to foment and aid the spirit of disunion.

CHAPTER XX.

COURTS, LAWS, &C.

In speaking of the complexity of this government, I had occasion to say something of the character of its courts and the multiplicity of the laws. I will here merely describe the action of these courts and the bearing of these laws, as far as crime and good order are concerned. I have said that although judges are in a few cases appointed for life, particu-

larly in the Federal government, yet they are not independent. They are appointed by party spirit and from party, to carry out the purposes and principles of party. Their opinions are not only known before hand, but they are made to pledge themselves to continue to think and decide as they were wont to think and act. In political crimes, therefore, or in cases growing out of political strife, and where the feelings of party are rife, there is no possible chance for conviction. If it be too flagrant for the judge to lean in favor of the criminal, and avail himself of the forms and defects of law to let him off, the jury that passes on it are sure to acquit, for some of them are certain to be of his party. They have fewer scruples than the judge, and having the support and countenance of each other, render a verdict contrary to the facts and the law, without any hazard of character, or pricks of conscience. There has never been a conviction for treason either against the Federal or State sovereignty; for States, too, have their laws against treason and their sovereignty, against which treason may be committed, for the case of Dorr will scarcely be an exception. No person need be arraigned for treason, he would be certain to find some of the jury on his side. All sorts of acts have been committed against the Central power, from the case of furnishing support and information to its enemies, to the nullifying its laws; yet no one would seriously think of prosecuting such, or in any wise expect or hope for a conviction.

All sorts of impeachments are provided for public officers that violate the first principles of the government; that betray her interests, neglect their

duties, or commit any dereliction of duty or misdemeanor ; but no one, or no body of legislators now, would think of trying to impeach ; it would surely fail. The party to which the culprit belongs, would protect him and espouse his acts, as we have seen in many cases. We have seen a President conceal bills, or put them in his pocket, when he did not like them, and thus defeat them. We have seen him dispense with the Senate, a co-ordinate branch in his appointments, and appoint over their heads ; or if rejected, wait until that Senate adjourns, and then appoint the same offensive rascal to the same or a better office. We have seen him refuse to execute a law passed against his will, and do many such high-handed acts. No impeachment could be voted against him, for his party stood by him and espoused all his deeds. The provision in the Federal constitution for impeachment, is a dead letter, and never has nor will be available. All crimes committed by politicians, or by a party man, will go unpunished, as they continually have done. Any conspicuous man, should he commit a crime detached from politics, would be acquitted, because his party would step forward and shield him by influencing the prosecution, or throwing some of their friends on the jury, who would be sure to screen him, on the principle that he is too valuable a man to some party to be sacrificed.

The people are in the habit, in the Southern part of the United States and the Western, of seeing the laws unexecuted in regard to crimes, when the parties are of the higher grade of society. They expect people of that sort to take care of their own honor and character, by fighting whoever abuses

them, or taking the law into their own hands, and defending not only their persons and character, but often their property. Hence in those quarters, there are continual duels, street fights, rencountres, and bowie-knife attacks. Hence the murders we read of, and all the disorders incident to such a state. Hence the combinations to take the laws into their own hands, called lynching; when individuals are hung up or whipped without judge or jury, or driven off, and forced to change their residence, or give up certain property. No prosecution follows such deeds; no one would dare bring it into court, or even speak loudly against it. These violences and lawless proceedings, and these flagrant acquittals, occur so often in those countries, that neither the person nor property is safe; there are no guaranties for either—public opinion usurps the law, and a morbid, violent, and often unjust public opinion it is. Not one that would stand forward to remedy a defective law, and aid the courts in administering justice and keeping order; but one that finds a heroism in duels and out door fights with weapons. There are good laws in these States, but no one can execute them. The law forbids duels, yet daily are they fought with impunity. The law forbids carrying arms and weapons; yet all go armed, and use them on all occasions. The law forbids selling liquor by retail; yet all do it; and the law maker, the judge, the jury, and all, meet at the stalls and drink in violation of the law, and jest over its inefficiency in their cups. Horrid state of society, when by a sort of common consent the people silence the laws, suspend the courts, control the jury, and warn all mankind to stand on their guard and defend themselves, their character

and property, from the violence of the intemperate, the interested, the wicked, the unjust and reckless. Much better under a despotism than this state of things. A single power might be bribed or conciliated; but this many headed master public opinion cannot be soothed. The interested will jeopardize your property, the violent will render your person and reputation unsafe.

Often do criminals escape from the confusion and complexity of the laws. The Federal court may claim to take cognizance of some act, or to decide on some great interest, and the State courts also—one may imprison, and the other *habeas corpus* the case and discharge the culprit. In this complexity of Federal and State laws, the constitution and the common law, the law of nations and the civil law, the individual scarcely knows to which to turn; is doubtful to which he is indebted for protection and safety, or to which he owes allegiance. He becomes confused, and longs for more simplicity. He loses much of his veneration for all laws, of his respect for the courts, and finds his love of country and patriotism luke-warm. He is ready to join any party that will enlist him, and any change that would define his position and his rights. This is the sort of uncertainty that democracy delights in, and out of which it undertakes to guide the bewildered. The discontented and designing lay hold of such distraction, to build up their party and found a new order of things. In a question of upbreking and disunion, such a condition of things would incline many to join it; would whisper that they might be better, could scarcely be worse off. The forms of law proceedings too, are as unmeaning and gothic

as the old English pleadings adopted, and but little understood, could make them and the delays as uncertain. Justice is either blinded in forms, lost in complex laws, or almost denied by its delays.

The courts in most of the States, are directly dependent on the people, and must govern themselves by the popular wishes and prejudices. The Judge sees a powerful man, either a plaintiff or defendant; his election will soon come on; he is seized with fear and trembling; his existence at stake—he, therefore, is not in a condition to decide justly. When a Legislature chooses to violate all principle, all constitution, and all justice, and pass laws suspending execution, exempting certain property from the payment of debts, interfering with vested rights or charters, and passing *ex post facto* laws, what will Judges do that are dependent on the men who made such laws? They must execute them, in the nature of things they will execute them. They will not do that high duty that a Judge is bound to perform. They will not dare to shield the innocent, or check such outrageous attacks upon justice; many cases have occurred of that sort. Whole States stand marked for such enactments, whose Judges have sanctioned them.

It is extremely doubtful whether a jury does not do more harm than good in such a popular government as this. They are sure to represent popular opinions and popular feelings. In a monarchy, they often do good by interposing a shield between the rigor of the law and mercy; between oppression and innocence. In this government, however, where every feeling enters in, where disorder and violence fill the land, the jury act only to acquit; or

leave things to their course, or aid party spirit. If they agree at all, it is on the principle of a compromise, or splitting the difference, as an umpire never fails to do. This, at best, is only half way justice, it carries not the case to a decision on principle. The expense and delay of a jury in this country are great; for a jury has to be paid often two dollars a day. In a circuit the jury fees amount to ten times the salary of the judge. The delay incident to the ignorance of the jury, and the impanneling and swearing of them, the long pleading to them to try and carry them over, take up the time of the court so long and so deeply, that there is not only great delay and expense, but much time consumed by the whole population in attending the courts, either as parties, jurors, or witnesses. No people pay dearer for their jurisprudence than this; nor get it more clogged with delays and uncertainties.

The same organization of a court, in almost no State, remains long enough in power to settle the law, and have opinions recorded that would be respected by succeeding Judges. Before that happens, the system or the tenure is changed, and a new set put in by another party; uproot all the decisions of the previous court, and have new mandates from the Legislature or people, upon whom they are dependent, which they must obey. In most of the important cases before the courts, you may perceive a marshaling of the friends of the party around the court room, ready to be put on the jury. The regular jurors are either excused and gone home, or find it convenient to be sick, if too honest to be influenced, and the most of the pannel

have to be summoned by the Sheriff on the emergency as talesmen, and these friends are put on it. The consequence, is as might be expected, justice is defeated or delayed, or a new trial if the injustice be very flagrant. Who does not see in all this, a certain and sure earnest of an upbreak of this Union.

CHAPTER XXI.

PUBLIC OPINION.

Public opinion, under strong or despotic governments, saves the land from acts of tyranny; because it embodies liberal principles, and speaks forth strongly the dictates of justice, and sets forth the true policy and interest necessary to be pursued. Nearly all of Europe is under the influence of an enlightened opinion; even the autocrat of Russia has to respect it, or lose cast with the more liberal governments, and come under the ban of this public opinion, as set forth in the journals of the land. In those old countries, this public opinion stands instead of a constitution, or a more regular representation of the people in the councils; for the heads of those governments respect it enough to govern themselves by it in most cases. You see it now standing forth in England against the corn laws, the tithes, and will soon control those great interests. We saw it open the iron door of religious intolerance there, a few years since; remove monopolies in voting and holding office, and reform the sacred principle of representation in the English parliament. Indeed, all through Europe it is the

sure guide to freedom and justice, and a sure guarantee for the amelioration of society and of political reform. Its small still voice is heard by all, obeyed by all, and its suggestions have to be acted out.

In this country, however, where there are no great fields for the action of public opinion, where all the great principles of freedom are recognized, and embodied into a constitution, and in the whole machinery of government, it takes an humble range, aids party, and often violence and disorder. We have seen that it takes a stand against the laws, against the courts, and in favor of an independent reckless course. It, in aid of party, often sanctions fraud and violence; often reaches forth to screen the guilty, and to stay the hands of justice and right. Under its influence the Judge trembles and swerves; the jury bow and obey, and the legislators forget great principles and depart from their proper spheres into party views and partial legislation. The great policies of the nation are often lost sight of, and the best interests of the country sacrificed, to this unrelenting tyrant. Whip me what is called public opinion in these States, and give me the power and resolution to act contrary to its dictates! Much pains is taken to get up and direct public opinion to unworthy objects, or improper measures, that through it party may carry out their views and control great interests, or gain the vantage ground. We no longer place our measures on their merits, and test them by experience or the real wants of the country. How they will affect us or our party, is the only question to be discussed, or the only point of view in which they are to be regarded.

This public opinion is becoming so morbid, and so reckless, that we fear it will lean to disunion, as it has to ultraism and disorder in all other cases. It is through the force of that, the slaveholder of the South talks so boldly against the confederation, and stops to calculate its value in dollars and cents, or more properly speaking, in negroes. It is the hardest thing in the world to chasten and turn public opinion into the proper channels. To give to it the proper food, and the proper fields of action; to insure its influence on the side of virtue and good order. The morbidness of public opinion in the United States, arises not from a rabble thrown out of all occupations by the overgrowth of population, and becoming destitute and restless. It is the higher class that manifests it, and shows the restlessness of spirit, that walks abroad and seeks new fields of action, tries new theories, and espouses all ultra notions and principles. They are idle, and somewhat intelligent; just enough to make them impudent and reckless. They are independent in property, and would appear to be disinterested in their motives, and are put in motion by the designing because they have nothing to do, and need excitement.

If it were the dregs of society, the worthless, that threw themselves into mobs and disturbers of the peace, we would be less surprized. We are prepared to expect from that class, mobs and combinations against the established order of things, when population condenses. If disorder pervades the land now, when the means of subsistence are so easy; when none that have industry are in want, or thrown out of the employments, what will it not do when thou-

sands shall be in want and unoccupied, ready to disturb society for bread? When they will join the ambitious and party organization in the hope of bettering their condition, or gaining something in the changes and upbreakings of all order. If this weak government cannot now stay the hand of the violent and reckless, who disregard all law and neglect the duties of citizens, it will shrink from the ruthless action of mobs and rioters, brutes in whom want and vice both prevail. Adieu to the country, when the materials for regular built mobs shall exist in every city and district. That is the time when unprincipled party will sweep all, and carry out all its plans; when it will find abettors to aid it in pulling down and dividing the spoils! I consider that all these irregularities in courts, laws, the administration of justice, and jurors, and all this false and reckless public opinion, will lead not only to disorder and violence, but stimulate all the notions of disunion that are so fearfully threatening us. None can cleanse this Augean stable of corruption, and save this confederation.

CHAPTER XXII.

PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES.

The punishments in the United States are too uncertain to deter the vicious and violent. As we have showed, the courts are too doubtful in their action; and when they do determine, the law prohibits them from inflicting the sort of punishment that would deter rascals from crime. A false humanity is abroad, that it is wrong and cruel to take life al-

most for any crime. This feeling is so strong, that criminals arraigned for capital crimes generally get off and escape. The Penitentiary system prevails, and if the voice of experience could be heard, and its results listened to, all would be convinced of its total inadequacy to prevent crime. We have had it in operation about thirty years, in some of the States, and crime multiplying all the time in a ratio that threatens to over charge all the accommodations in the country, and go beyond the means of supporting the authors. About one half of the criminals are gainers by going into a penitentiary, where they fare well and do moderate work. The certainty of a plentiful support, is worth something to a person destitute. He calculates that the crime jeopardizes not his life, and as to his character, that he knows is gone already. A penitentiary becomes a Lancastrian school of vice. There are many occasions when the criminals can commune with each other in spite of the vigilance of the keepers. The hardest rascal there inflames the ambition of all the others by narrating his feats, and how successful he has been in carrying off the prize, and evading all police and capture. You will see the young rogues hanging upon this hero of crime, and regretting that their feats do not amount to such wonderful deeds. There is scarcely one instance of a person going out reformed, certainly not one in a thousand. I hold to the doctrine, that there is no such thing as reformation in the very nature of things. The criminal's character is gone by the commission of the crime. He feels that he is at war with all the world, or rather that society is against him; that he is under its ban, and no matter what he does, the old blot is

on him. He gets, nor can he get any countenance from any person. If, therefore, he becomes virtuous he has to sneak through life without companionship or consideration. What will he gain, then, except in his own conscience, which is rarely operative on such, by an honest course? He stands branded with infamy and his children after him, and naturally says to himself, that he had as well profit by this warfare, and revenge himself on society to his own emolument. The criminal, or convict, as soon as he gets out of the penitentiary commits the same or a greater crime, with more skill and desperation than the first, and is either put back, or harasses the community with his continued acts of rascality. It is proverbial among the police of our cities, that a man acquires cunning and boldness every time he has been in a penitentiary, and is harder to capture and convict. If reformation then be out of the question, why go to the expense of preserving this worthless life? Why tax the community to feed and guard him? Better to have this sample of vice out of the world, so that it cannot corrupt the young or injure the innocent.

The plan of solitary confinement does not work any better as far as tried. Our penitentiaries now number many desperate villains who have gone through this gloomy punishment without benefit to their moral character. That system has not been generally adopted for the want of room to hold them and means to support them in this expensive, idle way. Unless the convicts were made to support themselves in part, for it is only in part, generally speaking, that they do it, the accumulation of vice would overrun all the ability to secure and feed

them. I am convinced, after looking to it, that the method of penitentiary punishment is worse than nothing; that instead of correcting, it renders them doubly dangerous. As to reclamation, I do not believe in it at all. As we have said, it is not in the nature of things to reform any. That it has been a great Lancastrian school for vice and cheating, and daring rascality. That solitary confinement is no better and a great deal more expensive. That convicts cannot, except in a few peculiarly favorable situations, be made to support themselves. That society troubles itself much, expends much, and risks much to preserve the lives of a totally worthless class, an excrescence upon its vitals. Hanging and cropping, and whipping, and the pillory would deter these people much more, and rid the community of them much better. When, therefore, we take into view the uncertainty of the courts, the sort of organization the jurors are under, the complication of the laws, and the political out-door influences that are brought to bear on the administration of justice, as well as this very defective mode of punishing, we may safely say that no country on earth has such a mockery of justice, such a defective system.

To make all this ruinous system more and more oppressive, there is no public opinion operative enough to check vice and crime. There is no virtuous indignation against disorder and crime felt and expressed strongly enough out doors, to produce effect upon it. In the South and West particularly the minds of even the best citizens are familiarized with all sorts of violence and disorder, and immorality. The upbreking that the banking and

credit system led to, accustomed the whole population to fraud and cheating. In the State of Mississippi, for instance, not less than one-half of the population either ran their property off, or hid it, or placed it in some friend's name, or in the name of some relation, to evade the payment of just debts. They not only had the countenance of each other after such acts, but of the other half that retained their integrity. Men that had notoriously done this were received in society, held the highest offices, and had the chief influence in every arrangement. Men that killed their neighbors in duels, or street fights, or with Bowie knives, were received as if nothing but the best acts had attended them. Men who, without court or jury, hung up such as they thought deserved it, and often the innocent with the guilty, were as good and as well reported as the orderly, the humane, and law-abiding. Men that placed their negroes in irons, gave them five hundred lashes and kept them half starved, and half naked, were as good as any. There was an indiscriminate mixing up in most of the Southwestern States, and in the new States and Territories, of vice and virtue, violence and amiableness, fraud and honesty, cheating and punctuality, lying and truth, that took all color from virtue and all foulness from vice—took away all motive to honorable industry and honorable pursuits; placed man on his own defences, and in opposition to law and order. This state of things, these feelings and convictions, favored not virtue, aided not the administration of justice, nor the suppression of disorder and lawless proceedings.

In such a condition of society, a majority of the

voters in the State of Mississippi, solemnly, by their vote, proclaimed to the world that they never would pay seven millions of dollars that the State borrowed from innocent capitalists, and gave most sacred promises to redeem. They used the money and repudiated the debt. It is thus that this immoral degradation enters and corrupts every thing private and public. It neither pays its individual obligations nor its national bonds. No wonder then that it assumes a political character, and not only sanctions the partial acts of the courts, the morbid and unjust legislation of their assemblies, the violent and arbitrary proceedings of individuals, and leaves all to chances and uncertainty, but stands ready to give a coloring to all party spirit and all political acts. The party who stands nearest this foul field of vice and disorder, enters it and appropriates its base materials to their own purposes. If it goes for disunion, not only are the base and immoral ready to join them, but the best citizens grow careless, and care but little to correct, or try to correct, to prevent, or try to prevent any thing, or any course, no matter what it threatens, or whither it leads. They feel, even the best, that there is but little to hope for, that ruin in some shape or other awaits them, and that further sacrifice is useless. All such feelings, all such acts tend to feed discontent, disunion, and disorganization.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ABSTRACTIONS AND THEORIES.

Abstract and impracticable doctrines possess the minds of these people. They read and publish daily long prosing essays on the construction of the Constitution, without listening to reason, or convincing one another. Whether the Constitution allows a road, bridge, or canal to be made by the Federal Government? and whether it would not destroy the country and its liberties if they should be allowed to do so? Whether the Constitution gives power to lay a tariff for protection, or to countervail other nations; or whether to raise revenue is not all that it can do? Whether secession is not the duty of a State that be in the minority, and the right? and if she secedes, whether she is still in the Confederation, or not? Whether a State can't nullify an act of the Federal government that it disapproves of, or not? and if she should nullify, whether she be still in the Union, or not, and a part of the Confederation? Whether the minority must not, from necessity, construe the Constitution and decide whether the acts of Congress be right and constitutional. Since the majority who passed the law can't decide on their own acts, and the Executive and the Court cannot; because interested and dependent on the majority, or receive their appointment from the Government? Whether the Confederation be not a co-partnership, and each partner to the compact have not the inherent right to quit when he chooses and withdraw his stock? All such impracticable and abstract fooleries deeply engage this population and

its two thousand journals and papers, instead of better matter, instead of the great policies upon which the prosperity of the country depend, instead of developing the resources of every part, keeping the national honor and glory bright, and vindicating her respectability abroad. Their money, time and intellect are all expended in such things, and on such subjects as do not contribute to the public weal—that only lead to confusion and distract the minds of the people—that have great effect in fostering party spirit, and false principles, and morbid feelings.

This is the only country on earth where the mass of the people have been led by abstract principles into strong parties. Calhoun conceived the famous remedy of nullification, and carried his State along with him into a seeming enthusiasm. This excitement was rather on account of the popularity of the man than because they understood the subject. A subject that no one ever did understand, except, perhaps, its author. Demagogues generally must have a tangible subject, that the popular mind can run and read. Some pressing grievance, some act of oppression or tyranny; and on all former occasions, from Grecian times up, history so proclaims it. Here, however, a scene in the clouds, an unmeaning, hair-splitting argument, an impalpable subject, where the imagination has to be called up to figure the evil complained of, or the end aimed at, as an amelioration or remedy, can excite and put the whole force of party in action. After a government is put in operation there should be no theories, no abstractions; all should be practical, and have a tangible, well-defined existence. There should be no

anticipations of evil or oppression, for "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Such an inclination given to the public mind, send it, Quixotte like, in search of phantoms, to the neglect of positive good and the reality of free institutions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

POST OFFICE, MAIL, &C.

The post office and mail have been greatly abused by the politicians of this country. It has been converted into a huge party engine that disturbs the whole country, and subserves party purposes in a manner at the expense of the nation. Whichever party possesses and controls the twenty thousand post offices and deputy post masters, can engross the popular ear and forestall the public. The first operation, therefore, of the party that prevails, is to seize on this huge machine, and through it usher forth its lies in the shape of franked letters and papers through its unlimited ramifications, until every individual is reached in some shape, and touched by some matter calculated to affect him. The franking privilege is so much abused, that the mail becomes clogged with useless or contaminating matter, to the exclusion of what would be useful and what is the legitimate object of all mail arrangements. All these post masters, all the heads of departments, and many of their assistants, all members of Congress, and the Presidents, have the franking privilege. It is most abused by the members of Congress and the post masters. Every mail goes

filled to overflowing with these franks. Whole packages are daily sent to some post master that is of the same politics, to be distributed to such as would be flattered by it, or influenced by such attention, to support the cause.

The first sweep a party makes when it gets into power, is at the post department. This is put into the hands of a trusty party friend, and all the thousands of deputies secured. Then commences the grand operation of using the four million revenue accruing from this department in serving their party. The thousand newspapers that the party own, are distributed ad libitum to all who will read them, and thousands of men who do not take any paper, who can scarcely read, receive these papers franked to them, and feel so much flattered by being thought of, that they not unfrequently become thorough going partizans. More of the small bribery, more corruption, more shameless prostituting of the public funds and public benefits, are carried on through this department than all others. Thousands are flattered by treats of liquor; many by office or the hopes of office; but ten times more by notices, and addresses, and presents through the post offices. All the public documents, bills to be enacted or discussed, all the letters the members of Congress and their friends, the post masters, can write on party politics, are franked and sent to Dick, Tom and Harry through the mail. All inflammatory pamphlets find there a ready distribution—all the printing offices in the cities are raked daily, and the whole bushel of interchanged papers that arrive daily at a printing office and hardly looked at there, are carefully folded under some frank and sent to the peo-

ple through every post office. Every person that can control a half dozen votes is thus addressed, thus flattered, thus appealed to by the designing partizans, and their account found in it.

In order to be popular, all printers are allowed to receive free of postage the hundreds of newspapers that he interchanges for. The religious sects, to be conciliated and their votes secured, are allowed to send their tracts and missionary reports, and bibles, and all that they write and distribute, free of postage. Not a mail leaves any central point without at least a ton of these franked lies and trash, which so retards its motions and clogs its room, that the useful matter is frequently thrown out or left behind. The intolerance and whipping in spirit of party will not allow their matter to stay behind, nor will the religious. They would blow up the department were it to occur, and having the power, turn out any postmaster that dared to exercise his honest discretion in leaving out the useless and forwarding what would be of the most value. The consequence is, that the honest subscribers and readers of honest newspapers that they honestly pay for, and the epistolary correspondent, suffer delay and often loss by not having received their information in time. Merchants often complain that their very important letters are omitted or left behind, when they see political trash distributing before their eyes. No people are taxed as high postage as this; a single letter was twenty-five cents in place of ten cents, that would be a fair price. This high rate was necessary to keep up the mail, clogged as it was. And did they not thus tax the industrious to favor the designing, the mail would either have to stop or change its

matter. Party will not allow the franking privilege to be impaired ; because it would cut off this vast field of influence in aid of their plans. The mail has, therefore, to hobble along with its ton of franks and tracts, and fail to arrive half of the times due.

When the roads get broken up by the thaws of winter or the rains of the spring, the mail arrives not half of the times it be due at remote points. At New Orleans they have sometimes six or ten mails due, when that great market needs most that sort of information that a free communication with the mercantile world would give. Millions of money have been lost in New Orleans on rising or declining markets for the want of the information from New York and Europe necessary to its operations. Could the mail go light with the letters and the newspapers bona fide taken and read, it would rarely fail ; even in muddy roads it could get along and do its duty.

This is one of the cases where the accommodation and comfort of the nation, are sacrificed to the selfishness and emolument of party. In this case double and treble advantages are reaped by party. In the first place the offices, say twenty thousand deputy postmasters, and the head with his bureau of one hundred clerks, are monopolized by party, and held with all the salaries, commissions and perquisites. In the next place, the contracts for carrying the mail, amounting to four million dollars, are given to the dominant party, and very often extras to favorites. In the third place, this franking privilege, giving free circulation to all the letters, newspapers, trash and lies they choose to usher forth, and enable them to forestall public opinion and reach the ear of

the remotest settler. They can be heard first in all cases, and in many places and districts heard alone, where the voice of their opponents, having no such facility or avenue, never reaches at all. No wonder then, that the party in power grasps the post offices, and controls the system of the mails! No wonder that they keep themselves in place through its facilities! Should the dominant party favor disunion or any up-breaking of this confederation, the channel of the mail will furnish the means of diffusing the poison, and effectuating its plans and purposes whatever they be.

The dominant party will not go directly for a disunion, because they had rather govern the whole than a part, and their overweening arrogance would say to them that they can hold all. It will be indirectly that they will promote disunion. By their grasping acts of selfishness and tyranny; by contracting all the measures and policies of the country; by soiling the national glory and honor and degrading the national character; by either breaking or failing to strengthen those great bonds of the union, the interest of all, until the people lose all patriotism and love of country. Until they feel they would lose nothing in any change that might be made, grow indifferent to all, and let the union fall by its own weakness. In this way the dominant party will work their mischief, by over-acting, and ripping up the goose that lays the golden eggs. All narrow, improper and selfish legislation, all party monopoly, all corruption and undue influence will have the effect to derange and weaken the body politic, and thus pave the way for disorder and disunion. This confederation stands on too ticklish a footing

to bear much injurious action from party. Purity is of more importance to the mail of the country than to any other department, except, perhaps, the judicial. Too much money passes in it, too much mercantile information, too much that is or ought to be confidential and sacred in love, friendship, and politics, to run any risk of a betrayal or a failure. The nation's character, as well as individual interest, is concerned in the faithfulness of its delivery and safety of its transmission.

CHAPTER XXV.

FINANCES.

The finances of this country are now in much confusion, and threaten disorder. The population have been accustomed to lean on imposts alone for revenue. This mode of raising a sufficiency has worked so well and so easy, that no one felt the tax he paid to support his government. It blended so harmoniously and imperceptibly into the operations of daily consumption and supply from foreign importations, that no one paused to inquire what he paid. The country was accustomed to the goods with the duty on them as a part of their price, and the duty accruing was ample for the wants of the government. It was foretold and believed, that as the population increased the revenue would increase too, and we would have enough to not only defray all the expenses of a complicated government, but much with which to make internal improvements, if party spirit would allow it, and found many useful

institutions. The friends of humanity and liberal policy spoke with some pride of the bright prospect ahead, and hoped to see the day when all would join in developing the resources of the country. So certain were they of a teeming treasury, that the democratic party took the ground, that nothing should be collected but barely enough for the ordinary operations of the confederation, and made the people believe that it would be very unsafe to have a full treasury. That it would be used for improper purposes, and might enslave the people. They, at the same time, arrested the arm of the nation extended to perfect some great works of intercommunication, declaring that it would corrupt the government and jeopardize liberty ! These absurd ideas and policies were pretended to be supported by the Federal constitution forbidding such a use of the revenue and such an exercise of power. No persons but those whipped in by the violence of party, could see the impolicy or the danger to liberty. The States claimed the exclusive privileges of making roads, canals and bridges, and owning or directing them. The consequence is, they are not constructed at all where most needed, or in the direction most useful.

Some years since under the credit and banking system, and whilst the States were squandering away the millions they borrowed, and some of which they repudiated, our ability to import became almost double its legitimate amount, and the duties accruing accumulated in the national treasury, after paying off the last fragment of national debt, up to forty or fifty millions. Still the hands of the nation were tied by the democratic party as to improvements, and they could not so apply it. The question then arose as to what should

be done with this surplus ! The States decided on dividing it out among themselves according to their population, and actually did so. They wasted it as they had done millions before that they had borrowed, or what was infinitely worse, the dominant politicians got hold of it, and under pretence of supporting schools or doing some work for the State, they and their abettors used it up. To prevent the like recurrence, that is to say, of a surplus in the treasury, the American Congress, pretty much under the control of the democratic party, agreed to lower the duties on all importations, regardless of the manufacturing interest that a higher tariff had started into existence and fostered until it became a great consideration. They determined to lower the duty to the point of mere national wants under the most rigid economy. The manufacturers suffered a great shock, and either stopped work or were thrown upon their own resources. The whigs coming temporarily into power again in the year 1840, revived the tariff in such a discriminating way that the manufacturing interest again revived, and have taken such a hold, acquired such skill, and have such an accumulation of capital that they will now go ahead and supply not only every article of the first necessity to the whole population, but most of the luxuries of life.

From the fact that it is now admitted and has become notorious, that American manufactures are sold along side of the European in the South American, Mexican, Chinese, and other great markets, and preferred to them ; and that sundry articles are going into England, and after encountering a high duty undersell them there ; we may fairly conclude,

and will soon see the day, when every thing we consume of the fabricated character will be supplied at home, by our own more ingenious and honest mechanics. We are so near this desirable point now, that importations are very light; so light, that with a pretty high duty on them, they do not yield revenue enough for the wants of the government. In three years a debt of about thirty millions has been accumulated to meet the deficiency, and the issuance of treasury notes annually resorted to, with a view to enable the government to hobble on and pay its dues. With an economy amounting almost to meanness, and by withholding all appropriations not absolutely necessary, and by the aid of treasury paper, possibly, for the present, we may get along, and pay the annual civil list. In a year or two more, however, we will want so little from abroad, that the imposts on that little will not be enough to meet the commonest wants of the nation.

The whole ground then will stand changed. Instead of a teeming revenue, and a treasury full to a surplus, there will be a deficiency encountered, and further debts incurred. Instead of quarrelling over a surplus, and appropriating it to party purposes and useless objects, there will be the difficulty of raising the means. Instead of its bearing on the tariff injuriously, and calling for a diminution of the duty, the question will be how can the deficiency be supplied? on what can we lay a duty to increase the revenue. There will not be articles of luxury enough, or raw materials that we can't make enough, or articles that can't be produced in the country, enough, out of which to raise revenue. We will very soon supply all fabrics; we will soon

grow and manufacture silk enough to be an export, after supplying all the country. The silk business has got a start that not only shows the capacity of the country to grow it, but to great advantage and of superior quality. There will be nothing left dutiable but some jewelry, which never fails to evade the custom-house on entering the country, some tea and coffee, and a few such things. Wine, silk, linen, canvass, fine cutlery, and all such things are about to be made in the country.

The question now comes home, How shall a national revenue be raised when imposts fail? The only alternatives then left will be the landed domain, direct taxation, or excise. The landed domain is already much frittered away, and what is left the states will seize on, directly or indirectly. Directly by just taking in the high-handed way all that lies in their limits respectively, and appropriating it as their own. Should the Federal government object to that, they will laugh at her, and she dare not stir against one of them. This is threatened now daily, and the Democratic party advocate it as a popular measure, and well calculated to strengthen and perpetuate its existence. Should it catch up all these new states as they enter the union, without character, resources, or intelligence, they would not fail to accomplish it, and to build up that party in a geometrical ratio. Should they not do it directly, it will from the necessity of the case have to be done indirectly. This two hundred million that the states owe, more than half of it is beyond their ability to pay. It lies without the interest being met, and some of the states mean enough to deny or repudiate their debt. Great dis-

grace attaches to this state of things, and the national government is morally and in honor bound to satisfy this indebtedness in some way. The nation has not the money or credit to meet it directly. She must do the next best thing in her power, that is, give her public lands to the state creditors, or be forever disgraced; and probably have to wage a long and expensive war with the European governments to which these creditors belong, and which will espouse their cause. The national domain erected into a sinking fund, or given at so much an acre to the bond-holders of the states, would, with honest management and a little indulgence, just about meet the case. I regard the public domain, then, as out of the question as a source from which to draw revenue, or fill the empty coffers of the Federal or central Government.

The next mode to raise a revenue is by a direct tax. This is just as sure to fail as they resort to it. A direct levy or tax passes down from the Federal Government to the states, in the shape of each state's quota, and a request to furnish it. They will not do it in half the cases; because it will be unpopular, and a mode to which they are not accustomed. In the last war with England, when the nation was greatly pressed and without the means of paying her troops, or even feeding and clothing them, the direct tax could not be collected or enforced. Some of the States refused to recognize it, or levy it; the great State of Massachusetts for one. Others that did not refuse, failed to collect it fully, or in time to meet the emergency. I regard this mode of raising a national revenue as certain to fail whenever resorted to. In the present full tide of

State right doctrines, the sacredness of State sovereignties, and jealousy of the Central power, they would make a merit to refuse. The Democratic party would build themselves up still stronger by preaching against it to the ignorant, and opposing its levy. As for the Federal power ever attempting to force a State to do its duty, it is out of the question. None can dream of such a thing being attempted.

There is another mode of direct taxation: that of putting a tax directly on land or property on the ad valorem principle. This failed, also, in the last war with England, when it was resorted to. The host of assessors and collectors necessary to act on the property of such a scattered population and their effects, so varied and of but little value, eat up, or consumed all the avails. When the tax remained unpaid the property would be removed, if personal, before a sale could take place; and if real, the long advertisements, the doubtful title, and want of bidders at the sale, never failed to defeat the tax; nothing was collected appreciable, or that aided the treasury at all worth estimating. The only remaining method is an excise or tax on consumption and licenses; this is vexatious and inquisitorial in its character, and well calculated to lead to popular excitements. Consumption, too, will become slack, or the articles used secretly. In these last modes of taxation, the Federal power would come directly in contact with the States. The only way the States raise their revenue, (for in this complicated government the States have their taxes and exchequer as well as the Federal government,) is by excise, licenses, or an ad valorem tax on property.

It would create great confusion for the Federal and State governments, and perhaps some corporation to be collecting at the same time a tax in this way for their respective purposes. The poor citizen, or farmer, or retailer would think himself used up and ruined were he to be called on by three collectors in one day, and perhaps for his church before night. He would combine with his neighbors to evade the taxes, and the one first evaded would be the Federal; that being as it were foreign and strange to him. He would pay his corporation, county, or State tax, for he stands identified with them, and his pride, affection, and interest, would all prompt him to do so. He would not pay the Federal tax, because he has been in the habit of seeing that power collect its taxes on importations. If the Federal officers were to attempt to sell property to cover or secure its tax, there would be a combination not to bid; and if the officer or his minions bid, they would be lynched by the people. They will not dare to bid, therefore, or to sacrifice the property in any way.

The moment the United States fail to collect its revenue from imposts, its difficulties will begin. It will become more contemptible and dependent on the States then than ever. It will have to cut down all salaries and expenditures, until it will have no dignity, or be able to make a decent appearance; and this state of things, or such a situation as this, would throw the people still more upon their own States as better able to take care of them and gratify their pride, by making a greater show and having more power and resources than this skeleton of a government called the Federal. The States themselves, cannot collect taxes when laid heavily, so

easy is it for the people to have an understanding to stand by each other and prevent sales. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other States, laid on a tax that their treasury officers said would produce a given sum, which appeared sufficient to meet the interest on their debts; but when the year ended not more than half the amount was collected and realized after every exertion. Some of the counties refused to have any assessment, or to appoint any officer to collect; and when the Governor wished to appoint such officers, none would accept office, or act. All the citizens of the county had the combination and understanding not to serve in the office; and if one had been appointed by the Governor that did not reside in the county, it would have been considered such an outrage on the rights of the county, that he would not have dared to accept it, or if accepted, to come into the county, knowing that he would be lynched, or violence offered to him, if he attempted it. If the States that generally are favorites with their own people and popular, failed to collect their dues, and could be defeated by county combinations, how much more certainly would the Federal government fail to effectuate their collections. The understanding among the citizens not to act against one another, in any odious case, is so well known that all measures fail that are not popular and acceptable to the mass. In a country where there are scarcely any regular soldiers, and the militia looked to for defence, or to suppress disorder, that militia must approve of the measure before it will move at all. They must see some flagrant outrage, some glaring acts of injustice, or oppression, before they

would shoulder musket and turn out in aid of a public officer.

The finances of this nation suffered greatly by the multiplicity of banks and their base character. The States, as I said in a former chapter, took the banking privilege into their own hands against the literal expression of the Federal Constitution, and even now to the exclusion of the Federal power. This usurpation led to the chartering of about a thousand institutions of that sort, all of which went into operation, some for but a short time, others longer; but all long enough to get out a great deal of paper, deeply affecting the currency and working much mischief. This paper rapidly depreciated and soon became no longer convertible into specie. As it was declining much of it was laid out in purchasing the public lands, or in payment of dues and imposts to the Government; and before they could use it, fell so low as to be utterly worthless. Several millions of this trash lie in the National treasury a dead loss, which affected the revenue through a series of years. The abundance of money that these numerous banks created, gave a factitious value and price to every thing; labor became so high that the manufacturer could not compete with foreigners, the agriculturists could not employ hands on their farms, and their productions became greatly diminished. A factitious ability was thus imparted to import goods, and the revenue became correspondingly large for some years. A teeming treasury stimulated the government into extravagant habits, that were predicated upon the supposition of a continuous overflowing exchequer. Soon as a depreciation commenced, and large losses were expe-

rienced by the Federal government, it suddenly declined taking bank paper, and nothing but specie was received. This produced such a shock that the baseless fabric of paper money immediately tumbled, and all the banks either stopped specie payments, or curtailed so rapidly as to produce unparalleled distress in the country. Importations almost ceased, the payments of interest on the foreign loans ceased, the revenue became so much diminished that the wants of the nation could not be met. Loans were resorted to, and this thirty million new debt, I spoke of, incurred. The light importations and deficient revenue still continue, and the next Congress will have to tax their ingenuity to find out a method to render imposts more productive. They may succeed for a few years longer by placing the duty on the right sort of articles; but after that are sure, as already said, to be left without the proper means of carrying on the government of the nation. Were it not for the necessity of having a certain sum of revenue annually, the country was never in better condition. The balance of trade is in her favor, and specie has to come from Europe to meet this balance and pay for the raw materials that they must have there. From ten to twenty millions of the precious metals are now annually coming into the country. This state of things is brought about by the manufacturing interest, which, whilst it imparts comfort and independence to the country, impoverishes the treasury, and embarrasses our fiscal operations. Necessity, however, has no law, and after a struggle it is to be hoped that the people will submit to direct taxation in a way not to break down the Confederation. The increased ability

given to the nation, and superabundance of specie thus induced, will enable the people to meet a tax without distressing them. Knowing, however, the prejudices of the people and party organization, and the confliotions of the State and Federal powers under a recourse to direct taxation, I apprehend much difficulty, and even convulsions or disunion.

CHAPTER XXVI.

STATE INDEBTEDNESS.

The indebtedness of the States is a great draw back on the resources of this nation. This two hundred million will have to be met in some way. No nation can exist, and raise its head among the powers of the earth, that either refuses or totally neglects to meet its engagements. Although this debt was not contracted directly by the National government, yet it is bound for it in honor and morally, and will have to provide for it in some way. The powers of Europe and foreigners generally, will not discriminate between the States indebtedness and the Federal government; they will attach disgrace to the nation, when the obligation remains unpaid. This State involvement, as I have said, will either take the public lands to quiet it, or sap all the means of the States in the shape of taxation, and leave no ability with which to pay a national direct tax. The State claims will be first attended to, and the central government left in the lurch. The citizen will find himself between two fires, the

long weak arm of the nation will be reaching into his pocket, and also the strong grasp of the State of which he is a member. Between the two his patriotism will be damped, and his love of country much weakened. He would be nothing loth to see a change, or to join any party in producing it. Disunion loses half of its terror, and revolution nearly all its horrors, when we are weighed down with taxes or perplexed in a confiction of governments. We hail nearly all the changes spoken of as so many measures of relief, as worth trying. This population has never been taught, either to fear or respect any government. It plays with both the State and Federal authority; utters its thoughts and wishes without reserve, and opposes with a confidence of success or certainty of defeating, any measure that is not entirely acceptable to it. They know that treason does not exist, except in the statute book, and that all have agreed to allow each other to say what they please, and act out their wishes in many cases with the utmost impunity and non chalance. It is not to be expected then, a population thus reared, and thus accustomed to think, feel, and act, would be very scrupulous to obey any tax law, or other ordinance of the nation, that would bear hard on them. A time serving feeling and interest, is always uppermost with them; they look not to consequences, nor stop to run out results. Their impulses carry them on to effectuate their wishes, and without fear of either failing or running foul of a law. It is very important to the quiet and good order of a government, that its people be accustomed to respect it and its laws, and promptly obey whatever be required of it by way of duty, and pay as

promptly any tax or burthen laid on it. The habit of postponing, disregarding, or ridiculing all acts of the government, is nearly as bad as a revolting disobedience. In such a case, and with such habits in the citizens, the government loses its energy, entangles its resources, and fails in the realizing of all its aids in times of emergency and need. The morals of a population are bad exactly in proportion as they fail to respect their government. It is like desecrating a church, taking God's name in profanity, or using it without reverence. The very foundation seems then to be lost, and the great deep of moral feeling broken up, and a depravity uppermost that would stop at nothing, and respect nothing but its own interest or determinations.

A government dishonored, and without respect or consideration at home or abroad, stands like a disgraced wife, a prostituted daughter or sister, in the estimation of all, and doubly so to those identified with them. Like Cæsar's wife, to be loved and adored, a government ought not only to be pure, but unsuspected. A perfect juggle is now carried on between the Federal government and the States, to the defrauding of foreign creditors, and evading the payment of just debts. England, for instance, espouses the cause of her citizens, who are the creditors, and demands of our Federal government payment for them. This noble and dignified shadow, says to England that she has nothing to do with it; that the States, who are free, sovereign, and independent, and of right ought to be so, contracted the debts and must provide for them. England then travels down, or rather up to these sovereign States, and demands payment; they either laugh at her, or

repudiate the debts altogether. She then attempts war or reprisals on some one State, but to her astonishment finds the Federal government ready to fight for, or uphold the State in her injustice! Is this honest? worthy of a nation? and to be endured in this enlightened day, when all nations are plunging themselves on a straight-forward, manly and honorable course? Is it left for us, a boasted republic, purporting to be governed by justice and international laws of right and wrong, to show this total disregard of all honor and justice? A nation that can thus act, cannot hope to endure; and will be run down at home and abroad. Disunion and ruin await her.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JEFFERSONIAN POLICY.

Thomas Jefferson's politics and his value as a statesman, and how he ought to be estimated in the great cause of liberty and free institutions, ought to be understood. We have had occasion to allude to this man and his notions in former chapters, and will here merely give an epitome of his political life, and the policies that had their origin with him. He appeared in the revolutionary contest, as a pure patriot and ready penman. He had science and reading, and was known to his country and to Europe as a philosopher, and naturalist of some curiosity, and as the author of Notes on Virginia. Having no turn for a military life, he entered the councils of the States, and figured in the Congress that directed their destinies. His first great effort was

the Declaration of Independence, which, it is admitted that he penned; and which, filled as it was with a school boy parade of the details of injuries, pleased not only the Congress that adopted it, but the people generally. The instrument has been regarded as too sacred to the cause of liberty for criticism, and has passed with all its imperfections on its head. It utters at the start, an untruth, that "all mankind are equal, and of right ought to be," and one that the condition of slavery then existing in the colonies flatly contradicted, and one also that the circumstances of all communities do daily contradict. Man neither is equal, can be equal, or ought to be equal. The man without interest and substance in the country, cannot, and ought not, consistently with the existence of that country's weal, to have the same vote and voice in its councils as the proprietor of real estate, any more than the slave can and ought to have an equal voice with his master as to the condition that he is in. An instrument of that sort, that spoke to the world, to the nations, and was intended to be a statement of injuries, and a justification of the course the colonies aimed to pursue, should have uttered nothing but truths, and in the way to leave out all minor things and grievances. It should have embodied great injuries, glaring oppressions, and clear principles. George the III, and the English parliament, intended no tyranny or oppression, but merely to reimburse the nation in part for vast expenditures they had incurred, in planting and protecting the colonies. This instrument, however, is filled with detail, much of it entirely out of the scope and intentions of England, and many of them never had

any existence either in fact or intention. It does not treat George fairly in history, nor the English people, who were far from doing acts of oppression towards their own flesh and blood. We take the instrument, however, as a credit to its author; as a great national document, and with all its want of truth and candor, as having done much good for the cause of liberty in this new world by rallying all the colonists in its support. It gave an eclat to Jefferson that continually held him up to the eye of this people; and such a prominence to his talents and character, that no movement in civil government after that could have been got up without him, being a prominent actor in it. As soon as the government was organized, he was put in requisition for diplomatic services, and soon after for cabinet duties. During the doubtful days of the old confederation, he was much looked to and much consulted in all foreign intercourse, and all the requirements of Government.

After the adoption of the new and present Constitution, which organized all the departments, and defined all the powers and duties of each, he took office under George Washington, and assisted in organizing the government. It was soon discovered that he was a very ambitious man, and was inclined to yield to none but the father of his country, in his aspirations for office. As soon as Washington's patriotism and ungainsayed pretensions were withdrawn from the political arena, Jefferson set up his pretensions to the chief magistracy; but the elder Adams, a patriot as pure as any, and of acknowledged energy, was preferred to him. He seemed to acquiesce, and took office under Adams to watch his

course and avail of any error, or unpopular move his successful rival might make. About that time, Jefferson and his friends got up the first array of party spirit, known as Federalists and Republicans. Adams headed the former, and went for a liberal construction of the Constitution, so as to render the Federal government respectable at home and abroad. Jefferson the latter, and determined to be in opposition to him; and being of a more theoretical and visionary turn of mind, went for a rigid construction of that instrument, so as to confine the powers and action of the Federal government to the letter of the constitution, and greatly limit its scope and usefulness. All the newspapers in Virginia, and most of those in the South, went for the Republican doctrines of Jefferson, whilst most of the New England journals supported the Federal doctrines of Adams. The contest became so fierce that much intemperate language was used, and a tendency to disorder every where manifested. The President, Mr. Adams, ambitious to have a quiet, decent, and orderly government, unfortunately recommended a law called the sedition law to Congress, intended to suppress this intemperate language and these disorderly meetings, which passed into a law, and placed his opponent on the vantage ground. Jefferson had been watching for some act of commitment on the part of the President and government, with a view to swell the tide of his own popularity, and pave the way for the ensuing election, when he intended to be a candidate for the Presidency, and with every prospect of success. Party spirit ran high; the courts that executed the sedition law were very odious, and the popular clamor bore

down the popularity of Mr. Adams, and with all his pure patriotism branded him with the epithets of aristocrat, tyrant, and such odious appellations. So very unpopular did Mr. Adams become, that his election was easily defeated, and Jefferson, his rival, proclaimed the successful candidate, and placed in the Presidential chair. We have jumped at the result, and must go back a little to trace step by step the progress of the Jefferson Republicanism, and the means Jefferson resorted to, to build himself up into power and establish his party on a firm basis.

Before his election, after harping on the broad and ultra republican doctrines, and ringing them through all the changes, so as to catch the popular ear and gain popular favor, fearful lest individual efforts might not succeed, or might be counteracted by the energies of the Federal government, he enlisted the States in their sovereign capacity in the cause. He placed the States upon their sovereignty, and what he called their reserved rights, and brought them forward in that capacity to censure and act against the Federal doctrines. Kentucky and Virginia, with which Jefferson was very popular, and over which he exercised great control, were the first to meddle in the politics of the Federal government. About the year 1796, and 1797, the legislatures of those States passed strong resolutions, reprobating the general government as grasping at power not granted to her, and as wishing and intending at the expense of the States to build up a consolidated government, that would absorb every thing. They set forth State rights, not only as something inherent and sovereign, but made it their duty to watch the Federal government, control its usur-

pations, and interpose their shield between it and the people. They claimed to be the inherent guardians of the constitution, and the natural protectors of the people from and against all undue action, and all that they thought wrong, and encroaching on their power or on the great principles of liberty.

The worst of this interference is, that a single State claims to judge of all this; and in the act of judging are sure to be prejudiced, and most likely in the minority of the nation. These States censured the Federal court as meddling in cases beyond their power and jurisdiction, and alleged that it could not decide on great national acts, or on the constitutionality of a law that went to give power to the Federal government, and sanction those acts that were questioned by the States, or by a State. This was a new era in the political history of this country. Here we see a power unknown to the Federal constitution, organized as a sovereign State, knowing no responsibility, and dreading no check in its course; deciding on the acts of the American Congress, approving and disapproving of them, and not only denouncing them to the people, but claiming to arrest their execution when necessary. There is all the difference, as we have said in a former chapter, between this government acting against individuals or persons, and against a free, sovereign and independent State. The individual fears and succumbs to the power that makes the law and approaches him to execute it; but the State fears nought, has no responsibility, and will carry out either its prejudices or its rights, as the case may be. Mr. Adams' sedition law operated upon persons successfully, but sunk before the frowns of the States,

and disappeared from the statute books. From the time the States began their interference, and undertook, contrary to all rule or any original intention, to take cognizance of and censure, or nullify, as the case might be, all the acts of the Federal government, was the balance lost, and every thing placed on a new footing, and under a strange control. This dark cloud has been gathering thicker and darker ever since, until now it overshadows all the land, and its lightnings flash to the alarm and terror of both the federal government and the people. Then appeared, in a way not anticipated, the commencement of those confictions between the two that will destroy this confederation. Then all that looked with a patriot's eye, became convinced that this complication of governments would necessarily run foul of each other, and break up. Then were individuals, who saw the States at their backs, emboldened to treat with contempt this central power, and defy the requirements of her laws and officers.

This new power took the name of State rights and reserved rights, and became the pass word for party. The federalists were made odious in the estimation of the most of the people, by holding them up as warring on State rights, and wishing to break down these best guarantees of liberty and of the government. They, the Jefferson party, or State right party, as they called themselves, understood human nature, and leaned upon that home feeling we spoke of in our first chapters, which they knew would prefer the State to the Federal government, and regard the latter as foreign to them, and one on which they could not depend to aid them in this local, selfish feeling, or carry out their prejudices.

This State right feeling has gone on increasing the tide of its power, until it now lords it over this whole country, and controls the central power as it pleases. As the country advanced, new names were given to this State right doctrine by different States. In Virginia the question was discussed as to how the States could best carry out any opposition to the Federal government they might have, and defeat its action when most unpopular, and her sages hit on a mode called secession, which meant to say, that the offended State could recede from the confederation, and stand aside and apart from the body of the Union until the objectionable policy be abandoned, then step back into the ranks and again take her stand. A metaphysical question incidentally arose in that case, whether the seceding State was actually a member of the Union whilst thus seceding? Virginia said she was. This remedy and this reasoning are worthy of that great abstract and theoretical State, but certainly unworthy of any practical country. South Carolina more boldly held, that a State had the right, and it became its duty, to nullify any offensive law, and totally prevent its operation within her body, or upon her people. The same metaphysical question, in even an uglier shape, arose in this case: whether the nullifying State was actually a member of the Union, when she was, or had thus, both denied and defied that Union. Calhoun, the head of this absurd doctrine, said she was still a member; not a very dormant one, however, after this open pugnacity.

Another interference that the States have made with the Federal authority, and one of every day occurrence, and that has done more mischief than

these other acts of which we have been speaking ; I mean the right of instruction. Continually do the States, met in their legislative capacity, undertake to instruct the Senators and members of Congress of that State, and tell them how to vote on all great subjects of national concern. This cuts off all the original and proper routine of duty intended to have been effectuated in the American Congress. Instead of receiving all information, hearing all discussions, and advising with all the light and most authentic and recent facts laid before them, they go forestalled and labelled to their national duties, and have no more discretion than automaton. It renders all debating useless, destroys the Federal constitution, and all discretion in the very place where the soundest judgments are needed, and the closest examinations. What would be the use of the constitution if the right of instruction be established ? That instrument was intended to be a substitute for this very instruction, which was thought to be impracticable, and the delegates allowed to exercise their own discretion, subject only to those general rules and great principles there laid down and expressed, to be the only restrictions and limits in the nature of things, to the powers and action of the members and senators in Congress. By these assumptions, of usurpations, the government is made much more complicated, and harder to be understood and construed. No one now, by looking at the constitution, could predicate of its actions, for he would be all the time running foul of these new powers and innovations unknown to that instrument, put into operation by party, and forced constructions. The votes of whole sections of country

are often lost in Congress upon subjects of stirring interest on account of this instruction, and that instruction nine cases out of ten, given without a knowledge of the facts, or the bearing of the case upon the national character, or the great interests and prosperity of the country. The American Congress is little else now than an arena where the States meet, and by instructed delegates battle out their local interests, and prejudiced or party plans, and register their one-sided instructions. The nation is lost sight of, the confederation is a mere State concern, and the proceedings at Washington without general interest, national dignity, or high and fixed purposes. This act alone of Jefferson, I mean this undue interference of the States to mix up and mar every thing, and prevent nearly all operations against individuals, ought to brand him with infamy instead of the friend of liberty, and damn him to all time as a dangerous statesman. Had he and his party done nothing else, they would have the full title to the epithet of destroyers of their country, to effect which this doctrine only wants a little more time.

The next great move of Thomas Jefferson, was general suffrage. He had succeeded in fastening on the wealthy and enlightened citizens the odious name of aristocrats. He had succeeded in exciting the action of the States in their corporate and sovereign capacity to aid his cause, and paralyse the Federal government. To cap the climax and prevent ever the influence of intelligence and respectability rising up against his absurd policies, he conceived the idea of general suffrage, of letting into a vote and a control the great mass of the people, without property, intelligence, or interest enough in the country to care

much about virtue and order. He knew that they would be all the time against the wealthy and aristocratical, as he called the respectable portion of the community, and by using a few magic words, such as "friends to England," "aristocrat," "oppression of the poor," "exclusive privilege," "consolidation," and other such slang terms, they would go their death for him and his party. All machinery was immediately put in motion to extend the suffrage to all persons in the country of twenty-one years of age, without regard to property qualifications. This fixed his party on a broad basis, and one that could not be shook or disturbed, for suffrage is like revolutions in its progress, it never goes backwards. All is held that is conceded in this very critical field of political power, and stops not short of every living soul in the land. We have spoken more at large in a former chapter of the ruinous effects of the general suffrage, and the certainty with which it will destroy this fair fabric of a government, this Union, once thought so sacred.

Mr. Adams thought that he had guarded against this as far as foreigners were concerned, by getting a naturalization law passed requiring five years in the country to entitle the foreigner to a vote or to hold office. This was immediately defeated by the States passing laws to let them vote almost so soon as arrived, not only for offices under the State government, but for members of Congress, and requiring under their law a form of naturalization very different from the act of Congress on the subject. Thus armed at every point, and thus having defeated every effort to prevent the ruinous measures of the Jeffersonian policy, that party seemed firmly es-

tablished beyond any contingency, or any control. Jefferson having secured his party by all the arrangements just spoken of, and having nothing to fear any more from the Federal party, found time to turn his attention to our foreign relations. In order to gain this controlling influence over the body of the people, he had preached up and practised great economy in the government. All salaries were pitched at the lowest, and the whole movement of the country put on a plain, cheap footing as far as practicable. He encouraged the idea that the militia were the best and safest defence, and dispensed with almost any army in order to carry out this parade of economy.

His next action was against the navy, which Adams had cherished as far as the resources of the country enabled him to do so, and under him the little and sacred band of a few well appointed vessels gained immortal honors in a temporary conflict with France, and laid the foundation of that glory that has since attended them. Most of these Jefferson dismantled, and alleging to Congress, that as it was altogether out of the question to hope to contend with the mammoth navy of England, or meet them on the high seas at all with any prospect of success, it would be better to have no navy and save this vast national expenditure. To reconcile a people essentially maritime to this idea, he advised the building of some hundred or two gun boats for the defence of the harbors and numerous bays and water of this long line of coast. It was amusing to hear the arguments of the minions of Jefferson preaching to the people the certainty with which these gun boats would destroy an enemy's vessels

of war, seventy-fours, for instance, when it fell calm, or when the wind did not favor the movement of such vessels to escape. Tell that to the marines, said the naval officers and the old salts, and laughed at the idea until by the ridicule thrown on it, and a general threatening to resign of every valuable officer rather than do duty in such crafts, and after expending a million or two of money in that way, it was abandoned. Jefferson ascribed all the action against his favorite gun boats to prejudice, and a feeling excited by the Federalists against him and them; and although almost forced to give them up, managed to lose no popularity through them. These visionary plans were the processes by which the nation was let down, and lost all the character she had gotten under the presidency of Adams.

The next step by which Jefferson let down the national character, was in a system called the non-intercourse laws. He, finding England troublesome on the seas, and disturbing our commerce by searching our vessels and taking from us the carrying trade, and the trade to her colonies, and being, as he said, unable to meet her on the high seas, her own element, and by a show of fight check such proceedings, conceived the sage idea of stopping all trade with her, and establishing by law the non-intercourse. This was carried out pro forma by the American Congress. Never before had a despot more influence or power than it required to pass this law. A nation whose commerce whitened the wide ocean, whose vessels caught every breeze in every latitude; that fished in all seas, traded to all ports, and who had the skill to build the finest ships in the world, and the art of navigating them with more

despatch than any other; whose sailors combined intelligence and activity, to be thus struck aback, thus touched in her pride and character by a law passed by a set of clod-hoppers, whipped into the Jeffersonian policy by the rod of party, was too mortifying, too degrading. It required a man ~~who~~, ^{by} the deepest intrigues and a great show and parade of honest intentions, to carry out a measure so revolting to this community. No man save Thomas Jefferson could begin to do it, or would have had confidence enough in his own arrangements, or even in his own party, to attempt it. This fatal law, accompanied with a rigid embargo, cast a general gloom over the land, and a stagnation as still as a death scene overshadowed the country. The nation was so appalled that they seemed to hold their breath in fearful suspense over the unexpected scene. The Federalists thought they saw in it a prostration of the Jefferson influence, and conceived a hope that after the spasms it would produce in the country they would be again called into power, and revive the character of the nation. They reckoned without their host, for the party was so thoroughly organized that all these visionary and ruinous projects did not dissolve it, or destroy its tenacity.

Jefferson calculated that our raw productions were so essential to Europe, and to England in particular, that she could not get along at all without them, and that as soon as the embargo and non-intercourse were established, England would come to terms and grant us all that we asked for. The non-intercourse had one provision that England might come and trade in our own ports and get her supplies in that way, which could be attended with

no danger or conflicting scenes. Thus, he said, we would carry on an active commerce in our own waters, and derive therefrom all the profit, without the expense of a navy, and without exposing our ships and seamen to capture and abuse on the high seas and in foreign ports. This reasoning did not regard the great interests of commerce and tonnage that we were annihilating, the thousands thus thrown out of all employment and out of their property, nor the prostration of our National honor and glory attendant on such a course. He estimated that the necessity of having our raw materials and provisions was so great, that if all trade were stopped it would still be better, and that would or could not fail to bring England to terms. So the embargo was added to a non-intercourse and the finishing blow given to all trade. The country, however, could not stand every thing; they had been so long quiet under a series of political follies, and had suffered so much, that they began to move against it. In an election that took place about the time Jefferson retired from office, members were elected to Congress instructed to repeal this ruinous embargo, and accordingly about the time that his successor, Mr. Madison, came into office, a milder man, but of the Jefferson school of politics, this embargo was repealed, and commerce, before the ships were quite rotten, put afloat again. The friends of Jefferson, (the snake's tail that lived after he was withdrawn from office,) still kept up the same organization, and admitted that their non-intercourse and embargoes were not successful, but well worth the trial by so pure a patriot and great a man as Thomas Jefferson. We began then to see what has been visible

in many cases since, that a well drilled party may make a revolution around the whole circle of politics, changing with the winds of heaven, and still be the same party, and preserve its texture and organization. It can do all this and come back to the starting point, ready for new mischief, and without having lost any of its strength or tenacity.

The Jefferson party, although they have, as we have seen, destroyed all value of the Constitution, all the conservative character of the suffrage, all the commerce and mercantile wealth of the nation, all the nation's glory and honor, and all the dignity of character and excellence that ought to appertain to the government, did not stop at this, but put an estoppel to any future development of these United States. They took the strange and unlooked for ground, that the Federal government had no power to make any internal improvements, could not make a road, a canal, a bridge, or national monument; nor could it establish schools, or universities, or aid and take cognizance of these things in any shape or sense. The impudence with which they conceived absurdities, and the boldness with which they carried them out, were truly astonishing. They challenged their opponents to point out the clause in the Federal Constitution giving the power to do these things. They were told by all true, disinterested patriots, that the power to do these things was implied necessarily, and they believed given literally enough. The Constitution gives the power to regulate commerce, establish post routes, to declare and wage war, and take care of the public interests; under any one of which is the power plainly enough given to make roads, canals, bridges, and establish

schools, or make monuments for the nation's use. The literal and direct expression was called for, however, and the party acted upon their own arbitrary assumptions. The consequences of not having these facilities were painted in a former chapter. These consequences consisted in being almost unable to defend the country at remote points from the attack of a foreign enemy, or the savages. Washington City, the very centre of the Federal government's operations, was burned in the late war with England; because the roads were such that troops could not be drawn there quick enough to defend it. All the force of the country could not take Canada in the same war, or even prevent Canada from burning and harassing the whole frontier; because there were no roads by which to march an army to their relief. Every soldier cost the government one hundred dollars to get him on the Canada lines, and every barrel of pork or flour with which to feed them cost eighty dollars. Of the \$200,000,000 which that war cost the nation, \$120,000,000 of it were for transportation, a sum with which they could have built all the roads wanted, and kept them up for ever. The mails cannot even yet travel through many of the States for the want of roads. And it costs more to distribute the articles of commerce into the interior where they are consumed, than to bring them from Europe. The character of the nation suffers much for the want of roads and other facilities, for strangers in trying to travel through and explore the resources of the country, find no roads that are passable, and abuse the government for it.

The greatest absurdity, however, is found in the idea that the party harp upon so much, that roads,

canals, bridges, and such things will endanger the liberties of the country!!! Through what sort of a telescope do they look to see this result? Education, for the same reasons, and by the assumptions of this party, is totally left to chance, as far as the organization of schools or universities go. The only thing done for it is the donation of one-sixteenth of the land in the new States for primary schools, which was taken possession of by the States within whose limits they are, and nearly all wasted. No National monument can be erected, that party says, to perpetuate any transaction of the country, or add to its glory, and serve as a stimulus to virtue in the rising generation.

The whole course and bearing of the Jefferson Democratic party goes to belittle the nation; to use a favorite term of Jefferson himself. All their policies let down the national character, and build up at its expense the states and their pretensions. They deal in abstractions, and pretend to fear the effect of the most practicable measures. They dread all the scintillations of national glory, and extinguish them as soon as possible. They regard national honor as an *ignis fatuus* not worth pursuing, or if pursued, sure to mislead. The only conceivable use they can find for the confederation, is a sort of medium through which the states hold conventions and intercourse with foreign nations; or a sort of milch cow to let down to their milking the cream of the land, if there chance to be any; or what is even worse, a tool to use for party purposes, or a name to endorse their absurd and lawless engagements. The party have no pride in the nation; they use it and laugh at, or as the Indians

do their gods, beat it to make it serve them. The Federal government and its constitution reminds one of the picture of the poor human figure stuck up as the frontispiece of old almanacs, for all the beasts to point at and control.

This party, not content with all the anti-national and absurd measures we have named, has risen up against the tariff as well as commerce. Insatiate archer! would not one, or at least half a dozen suffice? Would not the prostration of the proper suffrage, the extinction of national glory and honor, the suppression of all internal improvements, the crippling of commerce, and the placing the yoke of bondage upon the neck of the nation and binding it to state dogmas and pretensions, suffice thy grasping ambition? Must the domestic industry of the country, as manifested in our manufactures, be checked and smothered too to gratify thy inordinate desires? Ruthless party, spare at least this last, best resource of the country, and let us arrive at independence of foreign nations in the necessities of life, and not only in them, but the luxuries and that cultivated taste that never fails to run with them. This party acts not from patriotic motives, or it would often pause before it despoils. It avails itself of every seeming plausibility, of every cant phrase that conveys to the multitude a catch of apparent truth and propriety, to influence the ignorant and such as never reason at all, or run out results fairly; such as, "Free trade and sailor's rights," "buy where you can buy cheapest," "tax not the many for the few," "all mankind are equal," and such slang expressions, because they fasten on plain and ignorant men, and give some eclat to their par-

ty with them. In a former chapter we have discussed the tariff and its effects, and notice it here only to show the movement of that party, and how ready they are to turn things the most useful and important into their channel, and to abuse things the most sacred by the defilement of party; and it would seem to any unprejudiced mind that the pleasure of seeing a nation independent and comfortable would gratify any party, and that no party could be so abandoned as to prefer foreign prosperity, or to derive no pleasure from the brightness of a nation's fame and glory. Yet this party really seems to be scandalized by it, and labors to prevent or extinguish it, if it be already in existence. A people as advantageously situated as these Americans; with all their raw materials, dry climate, water power, coal, iron, navigable rivers, and the intelligence and activity of their people, might, if encouraged, put the whole world under contribution with their manufactures, and be not only the richest nation in the end, but the most cultivated and refined in their taste. The Jefferson democratic party, however, say, that it is unconstitutional to encourage all this, and if encouraged would impoverish the nation. Hence the rank stand that party has taken against manufactures, and the political capital it is trying to make out of the subject by opposing the tariff.

In the last war with England we had not blankets to keep our troops from the naked ground, because we never had made them, and then could not import them; for the enemy had possession of all our waters and blockaded every port. We, to conciliate the Indians, and keep them from fighting us, had to promise them blankets; and in order to get them, actually connived at licenses our merchants

took from the English, authorizing their importation. We had not then, nor have we yet, iron enough to meet the commonest wants of the country, and whole mountains of its ore staring us in the face. If every thing else had been warred upon and suppressed, one would suppose that such important articles as iron, blankets, flannels, and munitions of war, would have been encouraged sufficiently for national independence, and have lifted the country above this suffering in its national defence, and articles of the first necessity.

The last effort of this party that thus runs down all the great interests, and mars her brightest prospects, is to give still further extension to our territories by the acquisition of Texas, Oregon and California. The thin texture of our population is already so spread out that it has no substance, and but little tenacity. We are so widely scattered now, that we can scarcely defend ourselves against the Indians on our borders; and so hid in the woods that no system of education can reach half of our citizens. The attachment of this scattered race is rather to the trees, the plains, the rivers, and the wild beasts, among which they reside, than to any features of the government. Their sentiment is for wild independence, rather than patriotism, and they seem to never apprehend that any revolution, any war, any question of slavery, or other subjects that agitate the more dense settlements, could ever reach and disturb them. They have the most perfect confidence in their fastnesses, and feel perfect security in all cases. This party, however, that always runs upon extremes, and leans upon ultra influences, find their account in scattering away the population

where light and reason cannot find them, but where their own organization as a party can embrace them, and their own superior action can whip them in. Many of these remote settlements know of no other party but the Democratic, and have not the least idea of any policy or measure or notion that is not put into their minds by that party. They are thus so completely forestalled, and mortgaged, that when some of these states become populous and comparatively rich, their party notions are so fixed into their very constitutions, that they never change them; and that party never loses its hold on them. The country is now about to be much agitated by the grasp at the countries named above, and most likely a war will be incurred, either with England or Mexico, and perhaps with both.

This restlessness of that party, is ever on the lookout for some subject about which to produce an excitement, and out of the excitement increase their political strength. Lately they have espoused the cause of the Irish, and go for repeal. They very indelicately get up meetings all over the land, and not only make strong resolutions in favor of repeal, but raise considerable sums of money and send off to the tyrant O'Connell, the great agitator, although the agitator abuses them as slave-holders, and considers the hands offering the money as defiled and unclean. This is mainly done to conciliate the Irish voters that are spread through the land, and who act with the democrats on all occasions; but partly from the congeniality with which that party feels for all agitating, disorganizing and exciting movements, at home or abroad.

We have now run the Jefferson party through the most glaring points of their policy, and remarked upon their ruinous character. We have seen them at war upon the Federal constitution, until they have stripped it of all its value! We have seen them at war with the army and navy, until those great national defenses were at one time almost extinct! We have seen them extend the right of suffrage, until it embraced all residents foreign and native, and until that great privilege became a curse instead of a blessing! We have seen them array the States against the Federal government, until these States occupied a new field unknown to the constitution, and the Federal power become as nothing! We have seen the ultra doctrines of State rights, and secession and nullification, and all that was absurd and destructive of the original purposes of the confederation, in daily talk and practice. We have seen it prostrate commerce and the shipping interest, and by embargoes and non-intercourse laws, cut off our own noses to spite our enemies! We have seen it laugh at national honor and glory, and rate all character, all punctuality, as nothing, and rather delight in seeing any great national policy fail! We have seen it interfere with vested rights, suspend executions, take away charters, and repudiate debts honestly contracted! We have seen it delight in all sorts of confictions with the Federal government, and aim to strengthen its party thereby, and weaken that government! We have seen it stop all internal improvements, and oppose all national developements that were calculated to make us great and comfortable; thus leaving half of the country in the mud and without the means of reach-

ing market, receiving a mail, or conducting a defence against an enemy ! We have seen it prostrating manufactures, warring upon American industry and skill, and really seeming to prefer the thrift of foreign nations to that of the United States ! We have seen it stretching still further our territories and frail population, already weakened unto death by over tension ! We have seen the recklessness with which it interferes with other nation's rights, by grasping at Florida, Texas, Oregon, Canada, and other contiguous countries, regardless whether a war be the consequence or not, and sure soon to involve one ! We have seen the indelicacy with which it held meetings, condemnatory of England in its course towards Ireland and Canada, even at the centre of the government, and aided by the President's sons, and many persons in office ! We have seen it withhold all national support to schools and a system of education that would enlighten the mass, and prefer the ignorant to the intelligent, because they can govern the former and guide its mere physical force !

All these ruinous and ever to be deprecated evils, and many more of a minor character, flow from Thomas Jefferson's administration, and are incident to the party that he formed, and which is yet dominant in the country. If such a man cannot be stricken from the list of patriots, yet he should not, he cannot rank among the benefactors of his race, or the valuable statesmen. He brooded in great earnestness for liberty, but brought forth and hatched a cockatrice that stings and renders odious the very nest in which it was conceived. Liberty is destined to be thrown back for centuries, by these.

false steps, and stand scandalized to the world. He enables the aristocracy of the world to point its finger of derision to this anomalous effort; this entanglement of a government; this thing without light, or dignity, or refinement, or guaranty, or balance; this thing of accident in its existence; impulse in its movement, and uncertainty in its object. This inconsistent thing, that attempts to make man free without the information necessary to govern himself; great, without dignity enough to preserve it from low meanness; and in all its action under the influence of selfish party, that looks to its own interests in all cases. That knows of no national character or national policy, but through its own prejudiced medium, and recognizes no national existence, but such as it creates or approves of. A party that cherishes ignorance, because it can work better with ignorant materials; likes baseness, because its motives and aims are base; promotes narrow views, because its nature is selfish; and prefers its own power to a nation's prosperity or happiness. No matter what evil invades the land, what dreadful ruin breaks up our institutions, what disgrace attacks and leaves its foul spots on our character, all may be traced to the damnable policy of Thomas Jefferson and his party.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Andrew Jackson appeared under the Jeffersonian Democratic auspices, and the champion of their policies and measures. The military reputation that

he acquired in the war with England, for which he was as much indebted to the blunders of the enemy as to his own energies, imposed him upon the party as their leader, and he became their President. He brought new powers and available energies to the party, and his administration was a new era for this nation, and one that capped the climax of democratic usurpations. He took the bull by the horns, ^{le} ~~sat~~ his foot on the Federal Constitution, and recognized no power but his own will in his political acts. "I take the responsibility," was his favorite motto, and "must and shall by the Eternal God," his wonted asseveration. He minced not his violations of the constitution, as Jefferson and his immediate followers did, and cloaked them not under the guise of theories and policies, but openly and flagrantly acted out his will and prejudices. He hung up persons without trial; he put acts of Congress in his pocket, disregarded the will of the Senate, a co-ordinate branch in his appointments, and cared not for character or qualifications in his officers, provided they pleased his humor. "To the victors belong the spoils," was then, for the first time, openly recognized as a correct rule of political action, and all the offices of the government known to law, and many others, from the lowest clerk and runner up to the cabinet, bestowed on his minions. He retained many after avowed defalcations were made, for years in office, and thus lost to the government millions of dollars by their waste and stealage. This corruption in the appointing of the officers was then, for the first time, openly avowed and gloried in.— A bribery that compromitted the best interests of the nation stalked forth into open day, shameless

and reckless, and acknowledged a rule of action worthy only of a Turk or eastern Despot. Then, for the first time, office was openly held and given as a reward to the unprincipled, who aided in the promotion of the individual and the cause of the party, regardless of qualifications, and not only regardless of honesty, but often to the notoriously dishonest. Then, for the first time, did this young nation, steeped in corruption, openly shield the defalcations and stealings of party minions by acts of Congress, of the Executive, and even the courts, from the penalties of the law and the indignation of all honest citizens. Then, for the first time, did the party laugh at all ideas of impeachment for misdemeanors or treason, and boldly aver that it would, under all circumstances, shield and protect its minions and agents in their corruptions. Andrew Jackson combined most curiously and most fatally a despotism and a demagogue spirit, that did every thing under names that had become dear to the people, such as Democracy and Jeffersonian principles. He was often seen with his foot on the very constitution of his country, preaching up democracy and the principles of Thomas Jefferson at the same time. He unmasked corruption not to show its odious features, but the God his party worshipped. He held up bribery as the means that justified the ends of Democracy, and placed it in the midst of the popular assemblies as the touch-stone of the party, the great Moloch that all who aspired must bow down to, and the ordeal through which their political consciences must pass. This young people are thus tainted in the very gristle, and are taught to laugh at all affectation of political honesty, as they call it,

and wear in their very manner all the recklessness incident to vice, and all the boldness of villany in the practice of corruption. Our very sucklings and school-boys, are now deeply imbued with baseness in all their political notions, and jumble in their minds the pure breathings of the Grecian patriot, with the tricks, corruptions, and briberies of the Jeffersonian, Jackson Democracy. They have no altars left standing and undefiled, upon which they offer up the firstlings of patriotism; none whence arises the incense of unadulterated liberty and love of country. Our very youths go forth uttering blasphemies against the Federal government, and abetting all that is destructive of this Union. We are tainted in the gristle; the habit of political corruption is firmly fixed upon us; the mark of the beast is in our forehead, and like Cain, the curse of Democracy will and does accompany us into the very woods, to the Ultima Thule of the Oregon. We have the proud distinction of being the youngest nation on earth, and the most corrupt.

Habits, individually and nationally are to be deprecated, unless of the virtuous, moral, and patriotic character. An individual habitually vicious, reckless, and hardened in immorality, is scarcely ever reclaimed, and rarely to be counted upon;—and a nation habitually corrupt, unprincipled, and steeped in intrigue, is never corrected! Her character is gone, her course is downward, her policies reckless, and all put to sale. This nation is habitually corrupt, reckless, and hardened in political intrigue and party devotion. All love of country or patriotism is extinct; all high honorable feelings are laughed at and ridiculed, and all sense of national justice lost.

We are rotten in the core, and will fester in our own corruption, until anarchy and disunion shall close the scene. Never, in the history of man, has corruption so completely covered a country as with a mantle. Never before did a young and gallant nation so soon lose its virgin purity, and prostrate itself to all base influences. Her very heart is defiled; the deep wells of her very existence are poisoned, and her forms all polluted. She is old in political tergiversation and intrigue. If a people so young and scattered that no baneful malaria could be supposed to find them, manifest such depravity, what may we expect to see when more dense and concentrated. The habits of such administrations as we speak of, and the baneful examples of a Jefferson, a Jackson, impose on this nation, are as fixed as they are fatal. Under them the tendency of this nation is downwards, and nothing can arrest it. Easy is the descent to hell, but to come up again to light and life, insuperably difficult. There is no remedy; it has to work its course; the country has to sink.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SCHOOL SYSTEM, AND THE INFORMATION THAT BELONGS TO THIS PEOPLE.

Notwithstanding our boasts to the contrary, as far as reading and books go, we are an ignorant population. Education, unfortunately, is not the object of National concern. The Democratic party say it is unconstitutional for the Federal government to

make any order about it, or to appropriate any funds that way. Before this strange doctrine prevailed, a law was passed by Congress, in its better days, giving the one sixteenth of the public lands for schools. This law would have done much good, had it been carried out with the proper intentions, and the object of the donation thrown into some permanent system, that would not only have preserved the fund, but secured its honest and bona fide application to that object. As soon, however, as the State right doctrine became rife, and generally acted upon, the States within whose boundaries these lands lay, and for whose citizens they were granted, seized on them, and ordered them to be sold; thus ripping up the goose. The proceeds of these lands have either been used up by the State in visionary projects, or what is worse, wasted by the demagogues into whose hands they were placed. This fund, therefore, that would if properly managed, have educated all the population in the new States, where they were, may be considered gone to the tombs of all the Capulets, and a new start necessary in the wide and uncultivated field of rudimental education. This nominal thing called the Federal government, then, can no more move her unwieldy and manacled limbs in this very necessary field of education, than in all the others we have been speaking of. Ignorance holds its dominion, and stretches forth its leaden sceptre over most of these United States. No fostering paternal government sheds light and intelligence upon this wide land. No kindly hand is held forth to the rising generation, leading them up to worth and influence. None lifts the veil of darkness from the population,

but the active democrats, the selfish politicians, who aim not to enlighten, but to lead them to their political shambles, and use them for their purposes.

What a beautiful and efficient system of education the Federal power might have instituted, endowed with her public lands, and carried out for the benefit of the whole population, had it exerted the inherent power it possessed in the case! Had it not suffered its hands to be tied, and its powers mocked by this reckless party spirit, that not only fails to build up what is great and national, but pulls down what happened to be established before its fell influence paralyzed the country! This landed domain, that has been frittered away, and bestowed upon the worthless or squatting people of the woods, or seized on by speculators under any and every pretence where they could pass a law, by which they and unprincipled politicians could come in and get pick and choice of it, might have founded and endowed the richest institutions in the world. It might, and ought not only to have laid a broad foundation for primary schools, and Universities for science, medicine, theology, natural history, and for agricultural improvement, but have made asylums for the insane, the blind, the deaf, the sick, and orphans, all over the country. Instead of which, this very domain has been a prize for which States contended, and a fund that the politicians have very much appropriated to the use of their own party, in aid of their purpose of keeping up their influence, and hold, on the country.

If this fund had gone *pari passu* with general suffrage, had the mass that was thus let into power and influence, have felt its light shining bright

enough to have directed their movements, and dissipated their prejudices, such certain and threatening consequences of impending ruin and degradation would not have accompanied this prostitution of the sacred right of suffrage. Alas ! such is not the case. The mass of voters are not enlightened ; it moves in darkness, and waits to be guided by the designing who have let them into power, and who keep them ignorant for their own purposes. A nation that has no power to move in the great cause of education, or any means to aid its foundation, is not only arrested in all its advances towards greatness and independence, but must fall still further back into meanness, confusion and imbecility. To keep pace with all the great improvements of the earth, to develop all its resources in a way to meet the great movements of nations, to stand up to that high mark for which all are aiming, have itself crowned with honor and glory, and be hailed as among the wise and great and powerful of the world, a nation must educate all its subjects, enlighten all its statesmen, and know how to bring forward and wield all its resources. These are the times when all are advancing, all things are ameliorated, all nations taking the upward movement that leads to light, to justice, to liberality ; none must falter, none halt in this great high road to greatness and human exaltation, or they will not only be crowded out, but trod under foot.

England led off in the cause of liberality and the cause of mankind. France caught the spirit from her and us, who are the better part of the movement. The whole continent of Europe now is on the stretch for this great goal. Austria and Prussia, with their paternal governments, have cov-

ered the whole ground, and lead by the hand the small powers and principalities under their protection; and even Russia is opening her eyes to light and justice. The autocrat no more dares to do flagrant injustice, or offer wanton violence to the cause of man. Reason speaks and is heard. Austria and Prussia have held on to absolute power more to stay the hand of disorder whilst they were laboring for their people's good, than from any love of power; and Europe will be much indebted to those calm, considerate and just governments, for the deep root liberal principles and sentiments of justice are taking in all the north of Europe. The old world, and all the friends of the great cause of freedom and of mankind in it, expected to see the principles of liberty not only established in the United States, but to see them supported by all the light and dignity that a good system of public instruction would impart to their citizens. They were not prepared to see them planted and left to chance for their growth and support. Those into whose hands the sacred cause of liberty has fallen, in this new and last mighty effort, are not doing their duty, are betraying their trust by a neglect of a proper system of education, that would embrace all the people. They are still more culpable in having wasted the great landed domain, which seemed put into their hands by a kind providence for that specific purpose. The first great error this nation committed, the first step that compromitted the cause of liberty, was the mortifying declaration that she had no power to attend to the instruction of the people. From that moment all tended downwards, and no more did light brighten her course. Her politicians carried out their de-

signs; her people groped in the dark, and were led by the interested; and her institutions will fall for the want of the right feelings and support that education alone can give. All was compromised in that hour, and she stands divested of her proper prerogative.

In the New England States, and New York, a system of education exists, supported by State funds and State laws, that embraces the whole people, and great credit is due to those wise States for this bright and shining example. When you leave these States you grope in the dark; no light shines on your path as you advance south or west. The great State of Pennsylvania is without any system that embraces her people, except the city of Philadelphia. All there is dark, and ignorance covers her territory as a veil. The Germans have to be waked out of their sleep of ignorance by active and designing party spirit when their vote is wanted, not to light and intelligence. In the south, or slave States, education is left to chance; is an individual concern. The nabob acquires some, because he has the leisure and means necessary to any enjoyment in his reach, but the poorer sort are happy in undisturbed ignorance. In the west or newer States, no funds have been set apart for instruction, except this sixteenth of the land, which is generally wasted, as we have said, and the people are too busily engaged in their woods, clearing away or hunting, to care much about education. They rather boast there of their want of book knowledge, as they call it, and laugh at such as are educated. Where is the knowledge so much boasted of in the United States? In what does their smartness, as they call it, consist? In the west it

is that quickness that a wide spread forest and hunting life gives, and is very comparable to what characterizes the Indian. In the south it consists in man-aging slaves, and owning as many of them as possible. In Pennsylvania it is in farming, building store houses and barns, and making wheat and stock. And in all the States much of the talent manifested is in a knowledge of human nature in the every day business way, making money, speculating, and, I am sorry to add, in cheating and overreaching one another in the millions of tradings, barterings, swap-pings, as they express it, that are daily going on.

It is characteristic of the Americans to be above robbery and stealing, as they hold those in great abhorrence, and punish such as are caught in it; but they indulge almost in a mass in cheating, lying, and defrauding one another, and such strangers as come in their way. There is a sort of jocky ban-tering and concealing with a view to take in, and get not only a full price for any article, but more than the true worth of it, in the sales and exchang-ings going on at every corner of the street. Put them on their honor, and often they are very gener-ous and correct; and place property in their reach unguarded, and none but the very lowest will steal it, or rob you in the woods, or on the high roads; but it is too often considered a feather in a fellow's cap, to get the best of a bargain. This is the sort of knowledge, consisting in cunning and overreaching, that they plume themselves upon and call smart-ness.

When a general suffrage is granted, and the great mass of the people swept into power, and calculated by their votes to control the elections, and the coun-

try through them, there is a double necessity of a good rudimental education to enable them to fulfil this new duty with some sort of propriety and usefulness to the country. But, alas! the general suffrage is conceded here to the last extent, and yet this great class of voters are ignorant, and no system at work to render them otherwise. It is this negation and privation of all intelligence in this numerous class, that put all in jeopardy, and in the end, (that end not far off too,) will destroy the political institutions of the country. This worst of all associations, ignorance and a general suffrage, throws every thing into the hands of the dishonest, designing demagogues, who are enabled by a little flattery, and if necessary a little bribery, to lead them to the support of all their measures, and convert them into the merest tools. I consider it the greatest defect of this confederation, both of the State and Federal governments, thus to neglect education, and leave it to chances. The showing of the number that cannot read and write by the census in some of the States, is frightful, amounting nearly to one half of the whole population. Ireland or Naples could not make much worse showing, with much more to excuse them than we have.

That portion of moral honesty dependent on self-esteem, is greatly promoted by an education that would excite some pride and a consciousness of worth. People then begin to feel that they have some consideration, some character to cherish or lose, and naturally look to control political measures, and perpetuate the institutions of their country in credit and usefulness. Any disorder, any disunion, therefore, that threatens us, is then met and correct-

ed. If, however, there be no intelligence, none of the moral feeling running with it, none of the pride of character to be cherished that education imparts, all is afloat, all is open to the designing demagogues, who will appropriate all to selfish purposes, until the country will scarcely be worth saving. This is the way that ruin, disorder, and finally disunion will be superinduced, and all sink together into the scattered fragments of a deranged fabric.

In the present scattered state of the population, it would be very difficult to apply any system of education to them. Many of the new States have not more than ten or twenty souls to the township of six miles square, and to gather up enough to make a school, or to be worth while to employ a teacher, would require to reach over too large an extent of country. The pupils could not board at home and come out daily so far to school, and while the students have to pay for their own schooling enough cannot be brought together to justify the expense. Hence they run in the woods, with which they are surrounded, like Indians, and every boy about the age when he ought to be at school, is carrying a gun; and hunting or trapping. The Lancastrian, or monitorial system of education particularly, requires a dense population among which to do all the good of which it is susceptible. Its great advantage is, that two or three hundred can be taught at the same expense as twenty in the old way. This population, therefore, will and does remain ignorant, and but few who are more rich or more ambitious only, form any exception to the rule. In the cities, and in the dense settlements and manufacturing villages, a little money can and does, on the monitorial plan,

organize schools that, by day or night, embrace the whole of the people. When thus educated they breathe into each other's souls the spirit of a true education, and the ambition that is ever uppermost in such crowded schools or lecture rooms.

Much of the best and higher sort of education can, and is daily, or rather nightly, imparted to a dense population by lectures on the proper subjects, rightly got up, and aided by experiments, apparatus, or specimens. I have seen large rooms filled with the most attentive sort of people, excited by the lectures and experiments to enthusiasm, and habits of reading and enquiring lit up that induces them to finish what the lecturer has begun, and fill up the outline or skeleton of some science thus given. A comparatively small sum, judiciously laid out, in hiring lecture rooms and lecturers, and furnishing the proper cabinets, apparatus, or specimens, by which to illustrate a subject or science, would gather in and arouse to thought and importance a whole population, if in a compact or dense form. The two million dollars given by S. Girard to build a foolish college near Philadelphia, for citizens of that place, would if laid out in lecture rooms and apparatus for the more grown and advanced, and in monitorial schools for rudimental instruction, have amply educated to a finish, or to great usefulness and worth, every soul in that city. It now does not educate any, for it has all been laid out in a building, and that only half finished, leaving nothing with which to pay professors, or buy a library and apparatus. It stands a living monument of the folly of the donor, and of the faithlessness of even that quaker and formerly upright people, and may be

pronounced a perfect failure, and a total loss of the fund. A nation circumstanced as this is, where the government has been denied the power, and takes no cognizance of education; where such funds as have been given both by the government and individuals, are faithlessly wasted and used up by theorists or designing demagogues; where more than half of the population are too sparse and scattered in woods and wildernesses to be reached by any common system of schools, is in a situation to be regretted. In such hands all the high principles of liberty will suffer, all the great purposes of government be defeated, and none of the guarantees of property or persons be regarded. Degradation will attend her acts, disorder invade her citizens, and end in a reckless disunion that will throw all to the four winds, and deem nothing sacred and valuable.

CHAPTER XXX.

INDIANS.

The Government has all the time been entangled with the Indians, and many serious difficulties have grown out of her relations with them, and her system towards them. In the fulness of those feelings of justice that attended the first dawnings of the Federal government, she resolved that the Indians should be regarded as free and independent nations, and that in her intercourse with them she would so treat them. No lands were to be obtained from them but by a treaty formally made and ratified with them, and a valuable consideration given.

The United States, therefore, proceeded to define by treaty the boundaries of each of the hundred tribes within its territory, and filled her statute books with such trifling treaties as evidently let her down, instead of appearing national in their character. Thus, in place of assuming the natural guardian over these Indians, and doing justice towards them, and making arrangements for their civilization and comfort in the arts of living, the mockery of treaties had to be gone through annually.

The first difficulty that arose in this intercourse, was the question as to how far this sovereignty conceded to them should extend? Whether it was absolute or limited? It was soon decided *ex parte* by the United States, that although independent and entitled to the lands within the settled boundaries, they, the Indians, could not, must not sell their lands neither to individuals nor foreign nations. This was the first absurdity that accompanied this farcical intercourse. The people of the United States are Indian haters from colonial times, and never omitted any occasion to oppress the Indians, or claim their lands, whenever desirable, and whenever it would further their progress into the great woods, where they were all the time rushing. They would then commit such acts of robbery and tyranny towards the Indians, and treat them with such flagrant injustice, that the Indians would resent it, and a war ensue. Then the United States had to espouse the war thus began in wrong and violence, and whip the Indians into the making of another treaty, granting, or ceding by a mock assent, all the lands wanted by these people who committed the violence upon them. They would agree to pay for all the horses

and negroes stolen as alleged by the Indians, but more than half of the times by the base white men who hung on the frontiers and availed of these feelings to charge all their own acts of injustice and robbery to the Indians. When the Indians could not, or would not be excited to war even by injustice; and a delay was encountered in acquiring their lands for the whites that bordered on them, so clamorous would these whites become, and so restless, that in Congress and in their own State legislatures, they would move heaven and earth to get these lands. The United States would have to send out commissioners authorized to bribe the chiefs by whisky, money, or a part of the lands, to obtain their consent to a new treaty for the lands in question, which was done in most of the cases greatly to the dishonor of this nation.

After Jefferson's state right doctrines became more rife and in general practice, the States rose up in their majesty and claimed to own all the Indian lands in their limits, and said to the United States, that unless they in a very short time should extinguish the Indian title to the land in their boundaries, they would seize on it themselves, and force the Indians off. This was a new difficulty unforeseen, and one the United States were not prepared for, and showed in a strong light the absurdity of their course. Here was a power speaking and entering the lists that could not be put off, that could not be gainsayed. Georgia was actually in motion to carry out her pretensions, and was about to take possession of the Creek and Cherokee lands in her limits. The Cherokees, a half civilized and shrewd people, seeing the difficulty, refused to sell, and call-

ed on the United States government to protect them according to the formal stipulations in the treaties they had made with her. The nation was in a peck of trouble, and had to submit to Georgia either by letting her kill and drive off the Indians, or to bribe the Indians high enough to satisfy their exorbitance and get them off in that way. She, therefore, actually did give and expend in getting those Indians off not less than six million dollars, in buying their lands and removing them west of the Mississippi, and then had to give them twice as much land over there in the bargain. Thus ended the first difficulty with the States. Since that the Federal government has had to remove the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles, the Chickasaws, the Miamis, the Delawares, the Pottowatomies, the Winnebagoes, and many other tribes, at an expense all told of fifty or sixty millions, including the expenses of some wars incident thereto.

All this vast effort and expenditure, all this unworthy attempt to get over foolish treaties made when there was no reciprocity in power and circumstances, has let down the character of this nation much, and placed her in ridiculous lights, not only with foreign powers, but with her own people, and has given the States a complete triumph over her. Now all these tribes are placed by this vast fraud and unworthy effort out of the limits of the particular States, but the population is pushing upon them, forming new territories along side of the Indians, and including some of their grounds, and are already asking the United States to get for them more of the Indian lands. This is the worst case of all, because as an inducement, along with the great ex-

penditure and bribery, the Indians were told that no State could or should ever disturb them again, and they could live in everlasting security in their new locations. The faith of this faithless nation will have again to be violated to satisfy the rapacity of the new States and the frontier settlers. I say will have to be violated, for when did this Federal government ever resist the movement of a large population interested in a subject, especially if backed by the States? The Indians will have to be driven again, and again break up the nucleus of civilization and improvements, happily beginning to render them comfortable, and raise their grade in the scale of man. Much of the funds the Indians obtained from the nation have been expended in new habitations, schools and institutions proper to their comfort and advances. All will be again before long prostrated, and the lights of science and civilization among them extinguished perhaps forever.

The next fling off, the next disturbance will cause these people to utterly despond, and disperse, in the great plains of the west, among the buffalo and wilder Indians. The whole course, therefore, of this government towards the Indians has been a farce, an unworthy course, a time-serving, low and contemptible policy, that has sunk her in her own estimation, in that of foreign nations; and has placed her at the mercy of the States and her own unruly frontier people. Much has the Federal power been weakened by it; much has she been degraded by it, for she has had to practice low cunning, injustice and violence towards the Indians, and a mean truckling to the States, in order to get out of the foolish scrape. I reckon, then, her policy and intercourse,

towards the Indians, among the numerous subjects and circumstances that have showed so much weakness and want of power in the national government, brought her into such contempt with the States and people, and sunk her so low in her own estimation, that the consequence will be disorder, permanent contempt, and eventual disunion. No matter what power the central government claims or attempts to exercise; no matter what policy she places any stress upon; no matter what good she aims to do, or what developement of her resources she aims at, all are met and defeated by the spirit of disunion that is abroad, by this reckless party spirit that watches her course, and if all this does not control, the power of the States rises up and, like Hamlet's ghost, decides all, and speaks to the purpose so as to insure defeat and disappointment. I pity a government thus weak, thus abused, thus defeated, and thus manacled in all her movements. Well, may the people begin to estimate in dollars and cents such a phantom of their own creation, and laugh at the ghost of what was intended to be a substantial and efficient government.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TOO MUCH LEGISLATION AND CHANGEABLENESS.

One of the great curses of this nation consists in our over legislation. Over acting in this department is more injurious than any other. Frequent elections carry forward annually into the Congress and State legislatures new members, who are desirous of

distinction, and aim at some new measure, or to carry out some new theory, that shall give eclat to their names, or in some way connect them with measures or policies, no matter how ruinous, if popular for the time. We need only attend the sittings of Congress, or of a State legislature one day to witness this, and see the stretch each member is upon to carry some new and untried measure, often merely because it is new, and of which, or of its consequences, he or they know nothing. The country has to suffer under these visionary movements, and the people pay for the whistle. Time, and that a very short time, often shows the folly of the measure, but it takes a long time to do it away and correct its ruinous effects. To do that a new election has to intervene, and the whole ground belabored and discussed in stump speeches, and in the thousand and one newspapers of the country, until the cost and trouble of doing it away is often too great for the object, unless it be fraught with glaring evils.

Often the States or party imagine their influence or rights some way compromised by its repeal, and move in solid phalanx to the mark, either to support it or repeal it, as they feel affected, not as the great interests of the nation speak on the occasion. No one knows long at a time, under this versatile legislation, what to do, how his rights are affected, or what his title to his estate turns on. The courts that have to interpret and carry out these new laws and measures, are often bewildered in regard to them, or if decided, it is oftener because a State, or the party to which the judge belongs, wants it a certain way, than because the dictates of justice point it out. This endless annual legislation, this

changeableness as endless, this interference of States or party to construe, these doings and undosings, actings and counteractings, have the effect at last to disgust all, and in some imperceptible way, the very persons who brought about the changes are inclined to loath them. Sometimes in the Congress of the United States the parties are so nearly balanced, that the biennial elections bring in as apt as not a new party, and all the great measures of the nation are to be again changed and up-turned, and merely await the next election to have the old party in again, and all again to be changed. The American Congress now, unlike the British Parliament, is never governed by great national views or interests, but is completely under the influence of party, and all her acts such as party dictates and approves of. Of course they will be changed as often as party is let in and out by the elections, and an endless legislation fill the statute books with endless changes.

At one time no title is good until recorded; soon a change makes it good, if recorded in six months or a year. At one time a judgement binds all property, at another it is the execution only that has the binding quality. At one time a possession of two years gives title, then it is changed to five, seven, or twenty years. At one time a Sheriff's sale is absolute and conveys title, at another there must be a valuation, and one half, two-thirds, or three-fourths of the appraised value realized, or no sale. At one time the sale gives absolute title, at another time one, two, or four years are given, within which to redeem the property sold. And in like manner every shape and point of the titles to property are changed almost annually, and the value of property corres-

pondingly affected. The courts show not only from this endless change in legislation, but the changes in the courts themselves, as much versatility and changeableness in their decisions. Nothing is fixed; no decisions last more than a year or two in the general; and before you can lean on them as authority, or venture to print them, and publish them as rules of law and guides to the succeeding courts, they become changed and reversed. There are thousands of volumes of reports containing the decisions of the courts of the United States, or some State, and if you venture to quote one of them in your case, you are gravely told that is over-ruled, and point you to some newer volume or later decision, that makes a new order or rule of law.

Many of the great constitutional questions growing out of the acts of the American Congress, and decisions had thereon, are changed by party, either in the shape of a new act, or a new decision of the courts, and nothing, as we have said before, seems settled or likely to be settled. The bank and currency question; the tariff question; the authority due to the Federal court, and other questions of like magnitude, after having been acted upon and considered settled, as far as acts of Congress, decisions of the Federal court, and long usage and practice under them could go, have been all ripped up by party spirit, and the whole ground again thrown open for new and more fierce and more unprincipled action upon them. After forty years of action and acquiescence under a course of acts and decisions, you will hear some whipper-snapper, or tool of party, get up in Congress and alledge with all solemnity and gravity, that he cannot support such a

measure, or vote for such a law, because it is unconstitutional. Instead of the whole body scouting the idea, his party steps forward, a month's debate is got up on this very settled law and usage, and as apt as not a law passes, changing the whole ground again. As a part and parcel of the same abominable and disorganizing doctrines, you will hear these reckless party demagogues say, and call upon their party not in vain, to support the idea that one legislature cannot bind any succeeding one by any law, no matter how solemn, and no matter what vested rights have been created under the former act. All has to be undone if they choose, and all the rights acquired under it thrown to the four winds. They also assert, and act on the principle, that one generation cannot bind another, nor can we bind posterity in any shape. It is under this construction, and unprincipled assumption, that charters are often abrogated or taken away, and vested rights interfered with, or *ex post facto* laws passed. A government thus versatile, thus unjust, thus unfixed in all her policies and principles, is below contempt, and ready for any catastrophe that invades it; even disunion and an upbreking of every thing.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ABOLITIONISM.

Abolition enters the moral and political arena of slavery as its best friend, and exerts that sort of enthusiasm which appertains to a great and holy cause. Like the Crusaders of modern Europe, they rush

forth to free the shrine of Liberty from a defilement worse than Moslem. Their enthusiasm, like that fed by Peter the Hermit, will spread through the land and embrace all out of the fell influence of the slave States. It knows no compromise with the slave owners, and its war against them is eternal. It has been checked thus far in its career, by the forbearance of the good and moderate; by the withholding of the few patriots that still exist, and a hope that many have entertained of an action of the slave States themselves to rid the country of the foul stain. These, however, have all failed. The weak accents of an expiring patriotism is scarcely heard, forbearance is exhausted, and the slave owner, instead of aiding the holy cause, puts all action thereon at open defiance, and threatens all concerned with summary vengeance, if within their reach. The slave owner is perfectly reckless, and breathes forth his threats and determinations in a spirit that little regards the blackness of the storm that looms at a distance. He carries his denunciations into the national councils, and there induces morbid action, and unjust laws and rules. He violates the right of petition, the sacredness of the mail, and the long cherished trial by jury, as said in former chapters. The slave owner abuses all, and taunts all, even his friends who reside north, out of the pale of slavery. He ascribes the co-operation of that portion of the free States, to the effect of fear, meanness or interest, and thanks them not for all their efforts to keep order and suppress the excitement! He meets the question more than half way, and defies its worst effect. He raises his reckless and desperate cry from the very platform of slavery, surrounded by

myriads of his most natural enemies, and dares them on ; invites them to dissolve this Union, and laughs at their very forbearance ! A party thus in earnest, and thus convinced of the greatness and holiness of their cause, as the Abolitionists are, and thus jeered and taunted, will advance upon the infected district, and cleanse its contaminations. Their enthusiasm is contagious, and swells in a geometrical ratio, as a few years experience proves to us. It will absorb all in its vortex, and none in the free States will be found bold enough to withstand its force. All parties, Whig and Tory, Federalists or Locofoco, religious or not, will be swept into the rush of enthusiasm that is destined to overwhelm the land, as far as slavery affects it. The feeling now enters the politics of the country, affects all the elections, and soon will be strong enough to control them, and very soon strong enough to enter into all the aspirations of office and ambition, and force all to espouse its cause or give up all political prospects. As soon as it appears conclusive that no election can be carried without the Abolitionists, all opposition to them in the free States will cease, and all join in and court their influence. Then a new era will dawn, and this geographical line between the free and the slave States, be marked in blood. Then border wars, worse than between Scotland and Britain, Christian and Saracen, will continually drench the frontiers of the two interests with blood, and devastate with fire and sword. It is ruin and death to the prospects of any country, to have a subject for enthusiasm thus general, thus marked in everlasting characters, thus bounded by an eternal geographical line. A national crusade in such a case

exists, and rolls on its millions to the rescue; sanctified by the convictions of their duty, the sacredness and justice of their cause. Religion has entered the lists, with the sword of Heaven, and it has already divided all the sects. The deepest laid foundations of church discipline and church government, give way, and all their long cherished motives of sectarian influence, are let go under its absorbing power and control. Let it become the interest of the religionists, the interest of all political parties and aspirants to office, to court abolitionists, and all will become abolitionists from interest as well as conviction. None will be left standing in the free States; all will join the crusade against slavery in word and deed. We all know and feel that freeing the slaves now would do more harm than good;—but that goes for nothing, none will pause to think of it. Abolitionism is, therefore, as certain as the existence of God, either to discharge slavery or dissolve this Union. I think the latter. What can arrest this immense wave of abolitionism that thus co-operates with the slave; that enlists all aspirants to political distinction; that controls, or will control, all the elections, and that divides and engages all sects of religion in its cause? Our own abolitionists, all Europe, Mexico, the West Indies, and the humanity of this earth, are all aiding and abetting the cause of emancipation.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

NO GUARANTEES.

This Government, as has been said in a former chapter, offers no guarantees for either the person or property. You are liable to be insulted, and violence offered to you by any person, even low blackguards. Should you be beat, and apply to a court for redress, if the person that offered that violence be of your party in politics, you will get nominal damages, say from one to ten dollars; but if he be of the party opposed to you, go not into court at all, for he would be sure to have on the jury enough to protect him, and not only make you pay costs and get no damages, but be abused like a pick-pocket besides. So many low fellows get on the jury in all cases, that even if of your party, could not appreciate your feelings or sufferings, and would not estimate a blow and such indignities as that, at more than a few dollars. A gentleman, therefore, has to put up with such things, and make sacrifices rather than apply to a court. He must take abuse and walk away, unless he be a strong active courageous fellow, and knock the rascal down, if he be a low fellow, or challenge him if in the garb of a gentleman, and risk his life as well as be insulted. In the southern and western portions of the United States, the above facts and principles are emphatically true. The New England States, and New York, and perhaps New Jersey, would be an exception to the above picture, for in those States the principles of good order in the people, except in

the city of New York, and of some regularity in the courts, are on a better footing, and give some protection under abuse and insult. In all cases of murder, manslaughter, and assault and battery, in any way connected with politics, the party arraigned is sure to get off by having some one of his party upon the jury. It is well understood now, that party, particularly the Democratic, lets off its votaries under any and all charges, of either a grave or light character. Some of them get on the jury, and are sure to hang it enough to prevent a decision or verdict. If the criminal did his deed unconnected with party feelings, yet his party will step forward if he be a valuable man to them, and save him. I knew a case of an Irishman, who being drunk, offered violence to a very inoffensive gentleman, and his lawyer and all the community took it for granted that an example would be made of him; his lawyer, however, managed to connect it with politics, by asking the man why he struck the gentleman—he said (a made up case) that he thought he heard the gentleman abusing General Jackson, and he could not stand that, and struck him. The jury believed this, and let him off.

If you can get no redress when beat, much less likely are you to get any damages for any defamation of character. You could scarcely make up a jury in the way they are made up generally in this country, that could appreciate or entertain the idea that character be worth any thing. Does it hurt him, inquired a jurymen, for any one to speak against him, that he should make such a damned fuss about it, and trouble us with the case? "Let him either lick him or not mind it, said others; a

man to be a man must take care of his own character, and whip all who attack it, and not be running the country to expenses." This sort of feeling and acting in a court and jury leaves nothing but for a man to take his own sacred person into his own hands, and fight, kill or threaten all who abuse him. Hence the numerous duels, street fights, and bowie knife attacks we see and read of every day, in the southern and western papers. Hence those horrid scenes of two or three sometimes getting killed at a time, in revenging some insult or violence, where the courts would not do justice to the parties even if brought before them. Where a trial occurs about property, there is less of party spirit in the case than where the person is concerned; but the decisions of the courts are so varied, and the laws so often changed that affect the title to property, that a person knows not when his right is a legal one, or one that will test the trial of the laws in force. You sell a piece of property on a credit, expecting to get your money when it becomes due, or if not, by a quick process of law. What is your surprize to find the debtor not inclined to pay, and gravely telling you that you can't recover it at law! You, however, try it, and find that he has been telling you the truth; you can't make execution if you get a judgment, because it is suspended on account of alleged hardness of the times; or an appraisement is ordered, and the property not to be sold unless it brings two thirds of its value, which is at least double what it is worth, valued by interested persons. Hence, you can't sell, or if you sell, you must buy off the property yourself, and submit to have it redeemed at the end of two years, or

something worse than all that; which will oblige you to wait an indefinite period of time for your money, and starve in the mean time. A person must be careful how he buys land, even from the government, if there be any settler on it, for he can't get him off without a trial, and then he will fail if the trespasser be a voter or voters; or if he gets a verdict for his right, the jury will oblige him to pay rent, or for repairs or improvements worse than none, twice as much as any are worth. You buy stocks issued by some state and count certainly on getting your six per cent interest every year, but are told that the state fails to pay her interest, or has repudiated the debt, and your money tied up an indefinite period of years, or lost altogether. In half the cases, and during most of the time, the courts either sit irregularly, or decide against you, or delay you in your execution, or something occurs to convince you that you are in a hopeless way, and your title doubtful, or the payment of your money delayed, so as to put you completely out of all patience.

Of what value, then, is a government that offers no guaranty for the safety of your person, the sacredness of your character, or secures to you the title to your property, or the proceeds of your labor? These guarantees of the person and property are the very object of a government—form the very essence of it. 'Tis for these that we pay taxes and lend our support to it, and what right has any to claim from our hands any dues, unless it gives back these very necessary assurances? No matter what the shape or complexion of any political association or community be, if it secures the person, and in-

sure to us our property and labor, it is good, and fulfils the purposes of its existence. No matter on what great and free principles it claims to be based, if it does not do this, it is false and inherently defective. We must judge of a tree by its fruit, and we must look to results in all governments, and estimate them high or low, great or mean, worthless or invaluable, just as their action in these respects affects us. It is not all gold that shines, nor is every government good and efficient because it embodies great principles in its constitution—because it is based on the representative principle. The elections may be corrupt on account of a general suffrage taking control, without light, character or patriotism. Its courts may be dependent and changeable, its laws uncertain and often oppressive, and as is the case of the government of the United States, often may be able to neither keep order, do justice, or secure persons from insult and violence, or make safe the titles to property. No government has higher claims, or boasts more or better principles than this ; but all its great purposes have been prevented, all its best aims and objects defeated, and it hobbles on in uncertainty.

By this standard of judging of her acts and value she falls below most of the European powers. They give you all possible security, and are lifted in their tribunals above party spirit, above all prejudice and interested action. In England and France all possible security is extended to every subject, and in the German states, and Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, justice is worshipped and her standard waves every where, and over every soul that has injuries to redress or

wrongs to be repaired. So firmly are those powers based upon the broad foundations of justice and security and good order, that nothing can move them to partial or violent action, or take from them this high prerogative. Here every thing disturbs the balance, and opens the door for party spirit and its partial and oppressive and even vengeful acts. Party overleaps mountains in the United States to effectuate its objects, and drags with it the judges who are its creatures, and the legislatures who are its minions, and forces them to make improper and oppressive laws and then execute them. As soon as the citizens of any government sees it acting from the impulses of party, or from motives of corruption rather than patriotism, they soon lose all respect for it, and those even that profited by its injustice can't help seeing it, and must feel that it is unsafe and cannot be depended upon on emergencies. All sentiments of patriotism become weakened, all love of the government dissipates, and no one is willing to make any sacrifice for such a power, or to offer up his life if necessary to save it from destruction. Should the question of disunion come up, and the life or death of such a government be called in discussion, there would be a luke warm feeling that would say, let it take its chance; we can't be much worse off than we are under its operation. No bursts of patriotism would break forth and scout from the land all ideas of disunion; no willing sacrifices be offered up at its shrine; all the beasts would kick the sick lion, and suffer it to expire. A government of party, of chance in its continuance, and uncertainty in all its acts, finds few friends in a crisis; has no resources in an emer-

gency, and not money enough after the defalcation of unprincipled party acts, to stand it instead of patriotism.

Glory and honor appertain not to this government. They have been trampled down by the encroachments of state power, or extinguished by the low, unworthy acts of such legislators as a general suffrage has let into power and influence. A nation, to be loved, adored and respected, should stand on the high ground of principle and honor in all its operations; should rise above interested and selfish feelings, and have no motive but the good of all; no feeling but patriotism and love of country. A nation in all its relations to honor and glory must be exclusive in its sentiments. To let others share or divide those sentiments is death to them. As well might the wife of our bosom have another lover, as a citizen of any country have other preferences and objects of his patriotism. Patriotism is an exclusive sentiment, says a great writer, and admits no rival feeling. Here the states stand foremost in the people's estimation, and uppermost in their affections. There are twenty-six rival loves, rival mistresses in the holy estate of patriotism; and the sacredness of the relation is soiled, and the love naturally due weakened or lost. The Federal government comes in for only a secondary devotion, a cold and distant love, or rather a forced duty, that is grudgingly bestowed, and withheld whenever it can be done.

Sentiments of patriotism are much strengthened by a halo of glory that surrounds a country, and an honor that has never been sullied. In our country there is no halo, not even a laurel wreath to

rivet attention. The states cling to all this, and keep it as a mere medium through which they can hold intercourse with foreign nations, or an arena where they can meet and discuss the interests and glory, not of the central power, but their own, and share among them not only the funds belonging to the Federal government, but any benefit to be attained, any glory that arises, any honor that is awarded. So watchful are the states of the federal power, and so jealous of her superior distinctions, that they go to work with direct aim to prevent her not only gaining any credit or glory, but having any resources with which to develop the national resources. Does she aim at great works of intercommunication, she is told to stop, and her hands tied by the states under pretence of its being unconstitutional! Does she aim to render the nation independent by encouraging domestic industry, and laying a tariff, she is told that she has no power to do such things, and she has to obey her keepers! Does she aim at an army and navy that would build her up abroad, and give to her more glory and consideration, she is told by the party and the states that guard and control her, that is all nonsense, and she straightway ceases her aims! Her ground becomes so ticklish and narrowed by this state jealousy, that she moves with fear and trembling, and is positively afraid to do anything, not even half of her duties, and has never, as we have said, filled up half of the powers really given her by the constitution. She has conceded all organization of the militia, all banking power, all internal improvements, all national plans of education, all monuments and mementos

of national glory or individual worth, all right to encourage manufactures, or to interfere with slavery even in her own territory, the District of Columbia. All this does not satisfy the monsters, state rights and democracy, they are claiming still more. They not only claim to divide out the treasury, when she has any, and the landed domain, amounting to hundreds of millions of acres, but the prostrating right of instructing her on all points of legislation, no matter how constitutional or legitimate they be. Reduced to a skeleton, stripped of her treasury, her domain, her glory and honor, and of her wide and legitimate field of action by the overweening arrogance of the states, and the party they put forward, who can respect her, who can love her, who feels any enthusiasm or patriotism in regard to her, or would be willing to sacrifice life or property for her, and hazard all in preserving her existence? We feel towards her as to a defiled or doubtful woman, as to one that has a rakish or abandoned lover, without firmness enough to resist the indignity, or character enough to get along under it in honor and credit. We have not, therefore, the materials of greatness in our national government; no unity, no concentration of patriotism and resources and power to do good and make great and useful works, no head, no acknowledged power in any department. All its acts take their coloring from the dominant states, or the dominant party, and, unfortunately, that party or those states possess not the right sort of feelings to give character, build up greatness, vindicate honor, or cherish those institutions that impart glory. The Federal government must, in its nature, be a crip-

pled, hobbling thing, afraid to move in any direction, and always truckling and time-serving in regard to the states. The most intelligent and best patriots regret to see this best hope of the world so doubtful in its character, so crimped in its action, so tossed in this party blanket and scoffed at by all.

Many things are necessary to a government to render its citizens patriotic, and secure it love and adoration. Besides the glory in her escutcheon, and the honor and renown attached to her name, she must make herself felt, loved and respected by the justice of her acts, a certainty in her policies, a continuous effort, and that without shackles, of doing good, and a conceded power to develope all the resources of the nation, and render them available to all her subjects. She must never disappoint, never mock the just expectations of her people, and always stand ready to protect all, guarantee all, and secure all to the subject. We lean upon such a government as a child upon the bosom of a kind and indulgent parent; derive support and consideration from it, and a love and respect naturally attach to it. We are then good and patriotic citizens, the government great, just and paternal, and that great reciprocity of condition, the quid pro quo, prevails and balances all accounts between them. A government must have an army and navy worthy of her, and entirely adequate to her defence and to the support of her character. This army and navy not only do deeds of glory, but stand a ready resource with which to reward merit. A nation should have and exercise the ungainsayed power to establish schools, universities, observatories, libraries, cabinets, museums, a highly wrought apparatus, and en-

courage the arts, both the fine and mechanic, whenever necessary for the national glory or defence. Genius then would be fostered, and merit brought forward wherever manifest. We would not then have to get from abroad most of our literature, all our fine arts, and nearly all the articles of luxury that we use. We would soon be great and independent, instead of being a mere echo of Europe, and a bye word for foreigners. Where is there a national institution in this country, except, perhaps, the West Point Military Academy, that either fosters, or receives and takes care of the specimens of the arts or objects of natural history? A thing at Washington City is called a national institute, but was founded by individuals. Ground was set apart for a national botanical garden, but the government denied the funds necessary to establish and take care of it. A benevolent gentleman named Smithson, in England, gave three or four years since, half a million for a university at Washington City; the money was received and loaned out to broken States, and most of it lost, whilst Congress was quarrelling about its disposition, and whether it could constitutionally be used at all, and particularly in that way. What government before this, from Grecian times up, ever doubted whether Education would or would not destroy a nation? What government ever before was shrewd enough to discover, (a great discovery truly,) that making a road, a canal, or bridge, would destroy liberty? What government before this ever said or thought that encouraging manufactures, developing our innumerable resources of iron, and coal, and all the raw materials converted into articles of use or luxury, would prostrate the princi-

ples of freedom? The patriot has made a discovery very mortifying to him, that a government that says and acts so is very contemptible, and fails to have respect at home and abroad, and fails in commanding either the devotion of patriotism, or the voluntary offerings or sacrifices of its citizens.

We have a world to ourselves here, a whole continent, for the governments of Mexico, Guatamala, and of South America, are devoid of means and science to do any thing memorable! The world expects us to collect our own natural history, our own mineralogy, and all the observations on our climate, productions, and astronomy, and concentrate them in well arranged, well kept, and useful national institutions. If we wish to see the specimens of our botany, natural history, and mineralogy, or our fossils, and any other natural phenomena, instead of going into some national gallery, museum, or university, and seeing all at a glance, we either have to hunt amid private gentlemen's cabinets, or go to Europe to see our own productions of nature and art. Education, as I have said before, is left to the States or to chance, and seems not to be admitted into the pale of this confederation; to stand excluded from the portals of liberty, and knocks for entrance as a stranger, not as one that has a right to speak and be heard, that has a right to matriculation.

This nation has no monuments that flatter the people, engage their love and perpetuate any great event, any signal act of patriotism and devoted heroism, and point to glory. She has no power to make them. If got up, it has to be by individuals or corporations. Baltimore has a monument to

Washington, and one to commemorate her children heroes that fell at North Point. Boston has a monument, commemorative of the early battle at Bunker Hill. There is nothing national, no monuments, no statues, no paintings even, unless the daubs of Boone killing the Indians, and Penn treating with them, be so regarded. This young nation had its victories in the Revolution and its war with England, worthy of history, worthy of some national monument. She has had her naval victories too, that attracted the attention of Europe, and gave us what little character and glory we possess. But the heroes are dead, and their feats in a way to be forgotten. This nation had its changes of the form of a government from a loose confederation to a constitutional, has got over many difficult questions, passed many dead points that threatened to stop all action, but has nothing tangible to commemorate them. The abstractionists and the Democracy, cry out, let these things live in the hearts of the people, the best sort of a monument. How little know they of human nature. How little have they read the history of man, of the world, or they would see how soon the memory loses its tenacity in such cases; how cold the heart becomes, without awakening and exciting mementoes. The Roman citizen could exclaim, even in his captivity, in his chains, "I am a Roman citizen," and it availed him; because every renegade, every freed man, every captive, or emigrant introduced, was not allowed that sacred privilege, to degrade and abuse, and cheapen into nothing. How differently here, when every German, every Irishman, every vagabond servant, and every pauper, can boast that he is an American

citizen; and it avails nothing, for it is worth nothing any more, to any ears, nor to any hearts. A Roman could point to his capitol, to the Colliseum, and swell in his pride of patriotism; feel identified with it because it was his country, and he worked with his own hands upon it. How much of the spirit of Grecian love of country and patriotism ran with the finest temples, statues, and buildings of a public nature, on earth? and how much of that taste that reached all the people, did these things create and control? The mass of mankind are not refined enough to enjoy such things in imagination, in theory; they require to have the reality, to have them tangible, to see them, to look upon them, and be overwhelmed by their magnitude, and beauty, and taste. In the whole round, therefore, of public monuments, public universities, observatories, libraries, statues, paintings, and buildings of a public character in the United States, there is nothing for the eye of the people to rest upon; nothing to excite their love of country, their patriotism. ~ Nothing that they can touch, point to, or look upon—nothing that calls forth involuntary bursts of enthusiasm, and swells the heart with pride of country. Nothing to excite the emulation of the young, or gratify the pride of the aged. Nothing that lifts the population above local feelings, that postpones the State to the Federal government, or convinces us that we are a great nation, and have a country worthy of our love; entitled to sacrifices and respect, and which throws around the human heart a holy contentedness with the things that be.

For the want of some absorbing interest, some deep feelings of devotion to country, our youth are

showing their manhood, their independence, their imitations of older men, by abusing the Federal government, and leaning upon the bosom of their foster nurses the States, as entitled to their love and respect. They start wrong; the cart before the horse, the State before the general government, and never correct these early feelings, because there is nothing attractive left to enlist them, and command their pride and attention to the Federal power. This country has, fortunately for mankind, eschewed all titles of distinction, all the artificial classification of society, all aristocracy, and put things on an equality of pretension, at least on the merits of the actors. In doing this, they should not have omitted all other legitimate distinctions, and means of exciting the ambition and pride of the citizens. A numerous, necessary, and well appointed army and navy, would have afforded a field for young ambition, and attracted to them much of the love and admiration now dormant, or enlisted on the side of the States. Great universities, schools, observatories, apparatus, cabinets, and museums, would have not only elicited much science, but have furnished a field for the employment of the worthy and scientific, and led to much deep literary investigation. The honors, and medals, and statues, got up to gratify and do justice to merit, and connect it with the annals of a nation's history or the archives of a nation's glory, would give the assurance to all engaged in the service of their country, that their merit would be perpetuated, and they not forgotten, and serve as an example to the unborn millions to travel the same road, to serve the same nation, and realize the distinctions. Monuments erected to merit, or to com-

memorate great national events, would serve as great landmarks to aspirants to office, to those who turn out to serve their country, and assure them that their deeds would not be forgotten, that their services would be both appreciated and rewarded. A Westminster abbey, that would stand consecrated to merit and greatness, and be surmounted by monuments declarative of acts, and in the full and everlasting perpetuation of merit and patriotism, would not only excite all the citizens to aspire to the service of the Federal government, and assure them of a just reward, but hush all local strife, all narrow feelings, all State rights, and draw all the worth and activity of the country to the higher tribunal of the central power.

Our Federal government has no patronage, no commanding resources, and exciting objects of national concern; nothing *distingue* in the opinions of the people to command respect, excite ambition, or wherewith to reward merit. Hence our youths woo the State authority, laugh at the confederation, and seek strange, and mean, and less legitimate loves and connections. There is not even a pension roll to look upon, except the revolutionary heroes, that the intrigues and cunning of Democracy got up to further its cause. A man may grow gray in the service, military, naval, or in the civil list, and must continue with all the aches in his bones, and in spite of all the twitches of rheumatism that his exposures for his country occasioned, to quill-drive it, traverse an endless frontier as an officer, or set upon the bench as Judge after he has out-lived his reputation, or retire and starve after he may have spent the prime of his life in Con-

gress, in foreign diplomacy, or at some laborious bureau of accounts. There is nothing just, nothing liberal, nothing paternal in this government. We serve it from a cold duty if a patriot, or from interested motives if a demagogue, or designing politician, expecting when an opportunity occurs, to seize on avails, and compensate ourselves, and appropriate what happens to fall into our hands. The game of snatch, the expectation of self-reimbursement, of defalcation, of stealing or bribery, governs our people much more than the high considerations, the proper inducements of which we have spoken. There is no hope for such a low, grovelling, negative thing as this government, ever taking a strong hold on the affections of the people. We cannot run with abstractions, and nominal or doubtful powers. We cannot bind ourselves to a questionable government, that halts in all its purposes, and leaves us in perpetual doubt whether our acts are available, whether the country can stand by us and reward our zeal and efforts. There is no remedy now, at this advanced stage of things; no balm in Gilead to heal these political diseases, and restore the body politic to a healthful action. When the proper and worthy sentiments are all extinguished, the interested and unworthy feelings and motives enter in, and draw us to low and mean acts, or neutralize us and disincline us to act at all, and let all take chances. Disunion follows such a state of feelings, and an upbreking of all the political institutions of the land.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONFEDERATIVE PRINCIPLE.

This confederative principle that we have deprecated, as sure to work the destruction of this government, is not to be got rid of in any event.—Should disunion take place, this damnable principle will run with the subdivisions, enter every fragment of a new government, paralyze all of the gigantic limbs as they lie stretched and sundered, and work for new ruin in a more sure and stronger way. Then the State feelings, when there might be but two or half a dozen States forming the fragments, or the new governments would be stronger and more active, and bear a greater proportion to the integral than now, when there are twenty-six of them. Should New England, for instance, make a government, there would be six States; for under no trying circumstances of life or death even, would a State, or could a State be induced to surrender this fatal but flattering principle of innate sovereignty. Vermont and Maine, or the granite State, would abuse the Bay State, and charge her with monopolizing every thing through the capital of her great city Boston. The manufactures, the fisheries, and agriculture, and commerce, would be all jealous of each other, and hold up the ever ready shield of State sovereignty to compel or resist. Should New York, the empire State, join this confederacy, she would be charged with arrogance and overweening ambition, and an attempt to enslave the others, or control them; and Massachusetts, with all its regularity, its intelligence,

and principles of order, would lead off in this opposition. Should Pennsylvania, Ohio, Delaware, and Maryland, join in a government, the slavery of Maryland would have to be compromised, a difficult subject; Pennsylvania chargeable with attempts to control, and the young aspiring State of Ohio would not brook that, and set up her independent western feelings, and fresh State strength against her, and stop the very wheels of the government. Should Virginia, the domain State, and the Carolinas with their chivalry, and Georgia with its ultra and self-sufficient notions, join; the arrogance of Virginia, the hot-headed chivalry of South Carolina, the half formed notions of Georgia, would all rise up in their turns, enlist their respective States in their cause, shatter such a confederation, and beat down its connecting links in a very short time. Should the slave States make a new government, there would be an endless strife and jealousy between the Gulf and Atlantic States, between Virginia and the West; and so bitter would become the jealousy, and so fierce the contest, that State shields would soon be held up as an estoppel to certain policies and certain movements. Should the western States, free and slave, unite temporarily in a new government, it would be very temporary indeed, for slavery would immediately stand at the threshold, ready to enter in and spoil all. The South and the North would be arrayed against each other, and the devil-may-care of the Kentuckian, the southern apathy, the French of Louisiana, the recklessness of the newer States, would all be quickly uppermost. What is the worst part of all such feuds, the States immediately enlist in their sovereign capacities in

the contest, and put an end to any measure, any movement, any policy, or law, as far as regarded the recusant States.

No matter then, what shape you may give this confederation ; no matter into how many fragments this Union disjoins, short of twenty-six-or thirty, the number of the States and territories ; no matter what combinations may be formed, seemingly based upon similarity of interest or congeniality of feeling ; no matter how the scalpella of disunion cuts and carves, all will avail nothing against the inherent, selfish, nearest home principle that we have spoken of ; and that, with the certainty of human nature, works its way to ruin and disunion. The damnable principle of confederation is overturning the nation as a whole, will run with each subdivision, enter each fragment, and commence its ruinous, stagnating and paralyzing operations upon all, as soon as carved out to its hands, or organized with this cancer in their bosom. The friends of humanity, and of liberty, might find some consolation in the idea or hope that happy, more compact, and more manageable bodies might be formed of the parts, when the great whole becomes broken up. When, however, they reflect, and feel that to a certainty, the same cause of ruin would adhere to each in a more active and concentrated shape, and work out in half of the time a further disunion, until nothing but weakness and contempt would in the end avert the operation, they utterly despair. The ultimate effect, confusion, distraction, and European interference and seizure, would finish the farce, or rather tragedy, for blood enough would flow to constitute it one of the deepest dye.

It was very unfortunate for the cause of liberty, that the British settlements in North America were so distinctly bounded and constituted; had so deeply identified themselves with certain boundaries and limits, and had acted together so long against the Indians, and under the organizations of proprietors and companies, until they looked upon each as a complete power within those limits. Under those circumstances, they came forward in the capacity of sovereign power, and claimed to organize themselves as such in the revolutionary contest. This idea was cherished all the time, and held so dear that no matter how they met, or under what circumstances, they acted together, they came forward as independent governments, greeted each other as such, and were recognized in that shape by not only each other, but all Europe. This led to the confederation, this uncontrollable state of things formed the Union of sovereigns, made a confederative government, and kept it up in all the changes that became necessary. Some pure patriots, that did not believe in the federative principle, hoped, when a convention met to form a constitution (especially after experiencing the innumerable inconveniences of the first confederation,) that the principle would be either dropped, or so modified as to be manageable. The first thing, however, in the constitutional convention that was reorganized, was the Federative principle, in a more fast and better defined form. It entered in and enthroned itself in this high tribunal, and claimed to grant all that was conceded, and to hold and possess inherently, all that was either withheld or about which nothing was said or defined. This mean, drivelling and dependent thing, called

the Federal government of the United States of North America, was then engendered. Rickety from its birth, it has sunk into premature old age, and now like an Indian God, lies helpless, and has to be ordered, raised up, and beaten, to make it do what its masters the States wish to be done or conceded. No influence, no reason, not even General Washington, in whom all had confidence, and whose honesty was proverbial, could do aught to prevent this state of things.

Unfortunately again for this country, slavery, our greatest curse, ran with the colonies, entered the Union with them, and continued attached to each sovereign State as a right appertaining to its citizens and to its sovereignty. So strongly had it taken hold, that in all the fullness of our zeal for liberty, for free institutions, for liberal principles, aided by the weight of character of Gen. Washington, it marched into the confederation, and adhered to each member as a foul stain, or blot, upon their otherwise bright escutcheon. The high price of labor, the pride of ownership, and value of the slave productions, overbalanced all our love for liberty, and let in the monster, at the only time when a reasonable hope might have been lit up that it would yield, and fade away under the stronger feelings of the day, the flush of victory and the manly sentiments of national independence then uppermost. It remains and will adhere with as much tenacity as the federative principle, and will be as destructive of this union and all that is pure and sacred in it. Unfortunately for the confederation, the colonies had fought the Indians, and suffered so much by them that they had all become Indian ha-

ters, and the first use they made of their independence was to force the Indians off so much and so wide a territory, that the scattering of our settlements took place to a ruinous extent. The extent of our country became so great, that all community of feeling, all sympathy, all sameness of interest, were lost, or so much weakened that, as we have said before, no measures are acceptable to all the wide domain. So many new states were formed out of it, without character, resources, or intelligence, that they grind down the nation to their narrow views, and measure all by their contracted scale.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NO ORIGINALITY.

'This nation has no originality of character, sets no fashions, shapes no amusements. She looks to Europe for the shape of every thing she wears, the form of her coats, of ladies' frocks and bonnets, the cut of the hair and whiskers, and the way to tie a cravat or put up the hair, or what figures to dance, or what sort of etiquette prevails in society. Our bows, our salutations, as well as our amusements and fashions are all borrowed. These things, however small and unimportant in themselves, give a character to the nation or nations that set them and claim to invent them. Our manufacturers, however ready and skillful they be, dare not make a new sort of goods, new figures of calico, new patterns of vests, or new styles of furniture and carriages. They wait, tools in hand, until the samples

or patterns arrive from England or France before they make and issue them; then they work night and day to get out the new articles whilst the fashion is up, in order to effect sales and make their profits before it goes out, and becomes unfashionable on their hands. In statuary and paintings, the antique, or the old schools of Italy, are the only ones that give great character and have much value. These are all monopolized by the monarchies or aristocrats of Europe, and can't ever reach this country, for two very plain reasons: viz. that they cost too much, and are engrossed already. The character and honor of the powers of Europe run with the ownership of these valuable specimens of the arts, and nothing but a revolution puts them afloat or in market; then the richer governments of Europe, or the richer individuals buy them up and become the owners. This country, then, can never have any of the fine arts to boast of and give her character. When genius native springs up in the United States, and executes or achieves great works, these have to travel to Europe to be sold, and the artist soon follows them, because he knows merit is better appreciated there, and better rewarded, and his labors sure to find purchasers. We therefore can induce nothing from Europe in this way, nor retain our own genius at home. All, then, is a blank in the fine arts, in this young and fruitful country. And never can we raise our heads among the nations of the earth in this respect, and must in the nature of things, lose character thereby. What occupies the visitors and engages their attention at foreign courts? It is the visits to the galleries of paintings and great libraries, and the monuments, historical and commemo-

rative that are got up and preserved in a way to give eclat to the government. We have no libraries either that characterize, no old books, no unique editions, no illuminated copies, no ancient manuscripts, no rolls of papyrus, no ancient sarcophagi, no tombs of great men or martyrs, or even rulers or warriors. All is a blank in this country; no curiosities, no amusements, none of the fine arts or old books or historical memoranda; and when strangers of distinction visit us, they are wearied for the want of amusements or objects of interest to visit. These things many will say are small and of little intrinsic value. I grant it, but in the present texture of society go far to characterize any nation. They would also, which is the best part of their effect, excite in our own people a pride, a love of country, and become a sort of centre for patriotism to rally around, and contribute much to our national standing and character. All these things would come in very well, and help to build up our institutions and give to them permanency and elevation.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WHY HAVE NOT ALL THESE THINGS DESTROYED THE UNION.

Let us in this chapter retrace our steps a little, and sum up these numerous causes of disunion, and account for the fact that they have not yet done their work. Many are ready to say, after reading the preceding chapters, that there must be some mistake in

all these estimates and statements, or the union would have been long since broken up and the government prostrated. This would seem to be a rational conclusion, and one that requires some explanation. My purpose here is to bring in, and array to view all those circumstances of an ameliorating character, that have barred their action and postponed the catastrophe.

FEDERATIVE PRINCIPLE.

Why has not the federative principle, this nearest home feeling, and the selfishness upon which it is based, been quicker in its action, and more operative in its consequences? I would say it is much postponed by the young and scattered state of the population of this country. We got along the first thirty or forty years of our existence as an independent power, by the honest simplicity of our character, and the mutual sympathy and congratulations that then sprung up, and not only threw us into each other's arms, but led to much mutual forbearance, that during that time quieted all discontents, and smoothed down all difference of interest and irritation of feeling into some reasonable compromise. Since that, party spirit, particularly the Jeffersonian democracy, has sprung up and imparted more malignancy and active feeling to this cause of disunion, and shows us plainly whither it tends. It is yet weakened in its force by the scattered state of our population, a population too much taken up, in the new states, in clearing away the woods and preparing for life and comfort, to be carried on by its gathering current. It is too hard to excite active sympathy between states or people thus scattered ; it becomes dissipa-

ted before its force can be concentrated enough for active mischief. The new states and the country population echo the sentiments so faintly and distantly of disunion, that their voice is not heard strong enough to excite to action. The cities alone where there is a class of vagabonds ready for action, and who have nothing to lose but something to gain, are not strong enough to stir in it, and have to wait for the country part of the discontents, and these, as I have said, are not yet ready. Much of the active venom of party, much of the poisonous gas that designing demagogues breathe forth, much of this irritating saliva that is vomited out are divested of their most deleterious and irritating effects by this distance, thus hid away scattering into the great forests of the west. Time will, however, change this state of population and feeling, and then this very certain and active principle called the federation, with its selfish, nearest home preferences and feelings, will be in operation and do its work of disorganization. Too many symptoms already manifest themselves to be mistaken. The thunder grumbles yet at a distance; the cloud that is destined to overshadow and deluge the land, is not yet larger than a man's hand.

COMPLEXITY.

Why has not the complexity of this government ere this broken all up, and stopped these wheels within wheels? I answer, because all the circumstances are not yet ripe for the smash. We have got along so far, in all the numerous confictions between the states and the federal government by a sort of forbearing, a mutual compromise, or a let

alone and not seem to mind it, or a truckling to the states, where their demands are positive, however unreasonable. So far this course, however mean and degrading, has preserved the union. It has led, however, to the surrendering of all power nearly of the federal government, and to a state that is almost below contempt in the scale of degradation. The national government has lost cast, lost its standing, is lowered in her own esteem, and no longer commands respect at home, and not much abroad, by thus truckling and time-serving it with the states, and suffering, one after another, her most valuable jewels to be taken out of her crown of glory. She is now a mere creature of the states in all respects, and they bear with her because they know not what to do with her, and because she is so docile and manageable. She is now, however, so near the lowest level of degradation, has so little to yield more, and so near a blank, that party spirit and states' right feeling have paused, and scarcely know what further to do with her, or what further sacrifices to demand of her. Thus she stands secure in her own servility and insignificance, and merely awaits some strong excitement, some subject of a general and stirring interest to tumble to pieces. Another feeling is operative in all these cases to postpone the dissolution of the union. The dominant party, the Jeffersonian democracy, governs, and keep the central government as they would a milch cow or a bank from which to get something more to nurse their party rapacity, and keep up their consequence. Their interest may support the tottering frame a short time longer for their own vile purposes, but time must act, and its own weakness and

rotteness bring it down, under some gust of feeling or passing storm.

CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, &C.

Why has not climate, varied production, and extent of territory, acted in a way to destroy this union? The scattering of the population has been operative in this case also, to postpone that event. The consciousness of the abundance around them, the ease of living and great fruitfulness of the soil have lulled them. They feel secure and comfortable, as far as the necessities of life go, and too sparse to act on each other's sympathies, they are without motive enough to throw all to the hazard, and remain, therefore, in a sort of neutral state. They hear the thunder of party at the distance only, calling or warning them to look to their own section, their own productions, and come forth and vindicate their rights from federalism that will destroy their liberties. They say this may be all true, and no doubt is, as Jefferson and his party say so; but we will let things take their course; we don't much care any how, as we have not many wants, and feel that our woods and mountains will protect us in all cases. A sort of pride runs with a scattered woods life, a don't care sort of feeling, an independent state of existence, that are loth to act, and care nothing for changes. They have a pride, too, in seeing an abundance around them, even if they have no market for it; there are their cribs, their stacks, their barns full, their horses fat, their pigs increasing about them, their milk and honey flowing, and a state of proud ease evidently theirs and they in the enjoyment of it, that gratifies all

their ambition. The designing, however, know the strength of the lion when aroused, and will not act without the assistance and co-operation of these new western states. Hence the union is not disturbed by the above causes yet, for they carry with them some antidote, some palliation of the impending evil, and postpone at least its action to a day when circumstances will be changed with them; when even among them there will be idle vagabonds, thrown out of the pursuits of life, and ready to grasp at all shadows of hope for plunder, and the prospect of bettering their condition. There are none of this class yet in the new states; and although ignorant and democratic in their politics, they laugh at all ideas of active revolutions and up-breakings in their political condition. They echo the plans of the democracy, but say to it, be calm and let things alone; they will cure themselves in time. They strengthen party votes in Congress, and contribute their part in all the measures of that body to wear down the national character, but are yet disinclined to act against the federal power in a way to break it up. Hence these causes are postponed in their ruinous action and certain effects.

DESTRUCTION OF COMMERCE.

Why did not the destruction of commerce by the non-intercourse laws, and the embargo, and the dismantling of our navy and army under Jefferson convulse the country and lead to a disunion, rather than see the best hopes of wealth and prosperity trodden under foot? The country then was too young, too full of hope in its liberties, still flushed with a successful revolution, too confident of com-

plete success in building up a great temple of liberty, and too certain of establishing to the world all that she boasted of, all that they claimed to do and perform, to venture much, to risk all in open violence or an outbreak against the authorities of the government of their choice. They were not then so much corrupted, so much worn down with low, groveling acts of party movement, not so much drilled into opposition to the powers and acts of Congress. These acts of embargo and non-intercourse were the acts of Jefferson, the famous patriot and sage, the author of the Declaration of Independence. They meant well even if mistaken, they said, and were not like the acts of the Federal party, all of which aimed, they said, to destroy liberty. Had the elder Adams and the Federal party have done these things, the country would have been convulsed, and a disunion very likely have followed. Like a wayward but beloved wife, or a dear, spoiled child, the Jefferson party then could say and do almost anything, and it would be borne with and passed over. This party got by intrigue such a hold upon the people, that it became privileged to act almost as it pleased, make all sorts of experiments and take all sorts of liberties with the body politic and the liberties and rights of the people. Wo the day when a party really corrupt and unprincipled wields a popularity that enables it to sport with the rights of the people, and prostrate the character of the nation, with cries of liberty on their tongues, and pretences of patriotism in their acts! Then is the country in danger; then all are upon the chances of self-interested, designing

politicians, who will do whatever promotes their party and selfish views.

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

Why has not the Jeffersonian democracy directly destroyed all, and long since put an end to this confederation? I answer, because they being the dominant party, preserve the government on the same principle that a cunning man does his patrimony, to derive a revenue from it; to use it for their conveniences, and give themselves consequence and consideration thereby. It is not in a direct way that the dominant party in any country destroys it. When they are corrupt, mean, and low in all their policies, and contracted in all their political acts, like that party, they wear down and destroy the government by their corruption and meanness in an indirect way. Were they to aim to do it directly and immediately, it would be ripping up the goose that lays them the golden eggs, and killing the cow that gave milk for their children. They intend to continue to enjoy it, and preserve its degraded existence for that purpose, and so to cripple or degrade it that, like a polluted wife or a defiled lady, it is willing to do anything, submit to anything, and yield to all their low and base wants and wishes. They will accomplish in the end what, perhaps, they do not aim at. A disunion and disruption must follow their political course as naturally as a shadow follows a substance, or as certainly as demonstration follows the proper combination of mathematical data.

TARIFF.

Why has not the war upon the tariff destroyed

this Union ! . When a large and industrious section of the country engaged in manufactures find themselves prostrated by the unworthy course of legislation practised in Congress, and all the capital they have thus invested disregarded, all the skill they have acquired reckoned as nothing, and all the valuable and important results they have produced both for national independence and individual comfort, thrown to the four winds by southern prejudice, and the contractedness of the democratic party, it is natural this section should feel discouraged, and their love of country vastly diminished. The sections of the country, however, fortunately for the Union, where manufactories are rooted, are the most orderly and prudent portions of the population, and are willing to bear much and suffer much before they would set up for themselves. Hence they have forborne, and have not thrown themselves upon their own resources. Some other circumstances have concurred to keep them up. The imposts necessary for revenue, in spite of the wishes of these short-sighted politicians, redound to the manufacturers, and give them protection enough to enable the branches already established to get on and realize a small profit, and we now feel that thrown on their own resources, with this aid only, they will develop much and contribute much to the wealth and comfort of the country. The whigs, too, have occasionally got into power, and have given them their support in a judicious discrimination of the imposts, so that the duty not only gives a revenue, but protects at the same time. Under all these circumstances, these useful manufacturers live in hope of better times,

and put their shoulders to the business with an untiring industry, for which, however, they get no thanks, but abuses instead thereof. The New England States, the cradle of liberty, have a pride not to be the first to dissolve the Union. They see plainly enough that it is approaching from other quarters, and they wait results with a consciousness of duty, and are determined the blame shall be on the right party and sections when the catastrophe does come. They who have been not only theoretically free and friends to liberty from puritanical times up, but practically in the fullest and most complete possession of all the blessings of liberal institutions and privileges appertaining to liberty, are unwilling to move against the abuses of freedom in any other than a constitutional way, and make none but legal attempts to restore things to their proper grade and purity. Had the interests of the hot-headed politicians of the south, of Carolina or Virginia, been thus sported with, and mocked by such a versatility of legislation, they would have risen up and put all to hazard, or put an end to such a fruitless connection, and the Union have perished under the excitement.

UNCERTAINTIES OF LAWS, AND VIOLENCES.

Why have not the uncertainty of the laws, the violences of the south and west, the corruption and partiality in the court and jury, and the want of guarantee of persons and property, put an end to this confederation? A population subjected to all this may well calculate the value of such a union in dollars and cents! may well say to themselves, what shall we lose by dissolving this connection?

may say on the positive side of the question, what do we gain by being a part and parcel of all this, and why support an expensive government, that taxes us highly and gives us back nothing? This disorder is in the States most Democratic, and so evidently brought about by their policy and measures, that they could not with any degree of assurance be impudent enough to rise up against themselves and their own acts. They, as we have said before, feel that they are the dominant party in these States where all these evils and disorders occur, and have a love of their own work, have got used to it, and the excitement incident thereto is necessary to them and to their party. They feel, moreover, that they being in the ascendant, can some day correct it, without reflecting that nothing grows better in their hands, or any evil ever becomes removed by their party. We can gradually become accustomed to almost any state of things, can not only look upon but join in scenes of violence and corruption, and act and feel as if they were necessary, and an every day occurrence. Chivalry walks forth in such a country, where the laws are inoperative, takes the things into its own hands, and glories in defending not only its own person, but its property. Cunning partizans delight in the uncertainty of laws, and in the corruption that looks forth, and are always ready to avail of it for their own emolument. A reckless bullying spirit is at home in such a state of things, and is sure to oppress innocence, and modesty, and the timid, enough to find its account in it. The politician, and particularly the demagogue, can thread such a maze of uncertainty, doubt and corruption, and not only profit individually by

it, but strengthen through it his party, and get credit for all that he does and all that he turns over. It is not to be wondered at then, that such a state of things exists and affects whole districts of country. The injury it does, like many others, consists in sinking the character of the nation, degrading the great cause of liberty, and rendering of little value all this parade about free institutions and the great cause of mankind, and actually contributing little, we may say nothing, to individual security. Mankind find after being ground down by such a government, that they are paying too dear for the whistle, and become willing to see all go down and try something else, for they feel assured that they cannot be any worse off under any change that can come over them. Disunion in all these cases, becomes the ultimate consequence of such courses, of such disorder and corruption, and man is forced to feel and believe that he is humbugged and mocked at last, and that he has placed confidence where it was unworthily or improperly bestowed. The mass of the people will learn in time, when they feel and suffer a little more, that they had better try something else, or some other forms of government, and let the Union go.

INSTRUCTIONS—STATE RIGHTS.

Why has not the practice of instructing the members of Congress changed the government and affected the Union? This assumption of a right to dictate and direct the proceedings of Congress does change the whole plan of the government, and does away with the legitimate constitutional confederation that we at first formed. It is, however, so back-

ed and supported by State sovereignty, and a power although unknown to the confederation or constitution, yet speaks and dictates so authoritatively that nothing can resist it. The democratic Jeffersonian party evoked this power and availed of its influence, and now they cannot control it. They have let the lion loose, and have to feed it to prevent its destroying its keepers. They have to follow it in all its exertions of power, and render it as innocent as its nature will suffer it to be.

This brings us to another query connected directly with the above, that is to say, why have not the State right doctrines, their reserved rights, their secessions, and nullifications, and usurpations, as well as the instructions we alluded to above, destroyed this government and broke down this confederation; an influence strong and mighty enough to destroy a half dozen such Unions as this ever was? A majority of the States make these usurpations, and set up these powers and pretensions, and a majority constitutes the government; that majority may travel round a whole circle of changes, opinions and usurpations, and still claim to be the government, still claim to constitute the confederation and be the Union. Although the government is changed, or at an end as far as known to the original projectors and the constitution, yet it goes on in the new shape, hobbling it is true, and without any polar star, yet it is a thing that bears the original name, and known in law and to foreign nations as the United States of North America. The Jefferson democratic party too, that begat and put in vogue these State interferences and these State right doctrines, have to bear with it, and acknowledge the bantling, or the monster

rather, as theirs, and try to avail of its power, and have built up their party by its giant strength. The word of disunion has to be spoken by the States themselves, and the movement most likely come from that quarter, when enough of them by sections, or by interests, combine to carry out any strongly conceived interest, or right, or whim. We have seen the dreadful gulf below us from the verge of the precipice already more than once, and been near the plunge. A few more years, and a few more occasions of excitement, will produce the result that this unlawful and reckless interference of the States will surely bring about. We could act against individuals, and suppress any disorder or any unlawful attempt of theirs. They have some fears, some conscience, some calculations of policy. The States, however, are not thus deterred, not acted upon through their fears, or their interests. They are a corporation without a soul, or conscience, or bodily fears, and will and do carry out all they enter upon in a way to bear down all before them. They beard the Federal power in its den, and drag it forth and force it to do all they ask of it, or to allow them to do it. The huge infant yields and is led about by the giant power of the States as an automaton, and showed what to do and how to act.

The Jefferson democratic party begin to feel and see that they have overacted in many cases, and let loose powers and feelings they cannot easily control. When too late they will become convinced of this, and be unable to prevent the consequences of their own acts and engenderings. This State interference is unquestionably an entire change of this government, and although it retains the confederative

shape, has but few of the original inherent properties first imparted to it. We have gradually lost all the old land marks, and verged into a totally new field of government; daily does it exert powers unknown to the constitution, and never intended to be of the confederation.

STATE INDEBTEDNESS.

Why does not this State indebtedness, amounting to more than two hundred millions, destroy or involve the Union? It is working to that effect, but is too new to have yet done much. The holders in Europe still lean on the justice of their case, and hope that the Federal government will step forward soon and assume it to them, or insure them in some way. About half of this two hundred million lies without even interest being paid, and about one-tenth of it actually repudiated and denied. A baseness is manifested here that shows how deeply and boldly corrupt this young people are, and how reckless the States feel on all subjects of interest. It shows how little they regard honesty, honor, or integrity. The disgrace in all its force reaches the United States government, and sinks them still lower in the scale of national degradation. A nation that felt right and regarded its character, would, under the circumstances, have stepped forward promptly and assured these foreign and domestic creditors that she would see them paid as soon as a proper arrangement could be made with the debtor States. The creditors have waited now five or six years very patiently, expecting the confederation to make some move in the business, but all in vain. Lately, when the times are comparatively good and the

United States flush in credit, a President addressed Congress without the least allusion to the subject. He felt so little the disgraceful obligation, thought so little about it, that it formed not a single sentence or paragraph in his long winded prosy message, although in it he alluded to very very small affairs where he or his popularity felt or supposed there was some national obligation. For instance, he very conscientiously and gravely recommended most specially, that a fine of a thousand dollars inflicted on General Jackson at New Orleans by Judge Hall, who (to his immortal honor be it remembered) fined the General for sending a file of soldiers and arresting and imprisoning the judge, because he issued a habeas corpus and took out of prison a worthy citizen, whom the General had imprisoned on an unworthy suspicion. This almost solitary and nearly the only act of independence that our American judges ever committed, sat so badly with the democratic party, whom this unworthy and accidental President courted, that he made a whole page in his message recommending Congress to reimburse it to the General, and condemn the act of the judge. This he could do, but not a word about assuming or paying off the State debts, that were bearing so heavily on the character and credit not only of the States, but the Federal government. Time, as already hinted, will show the effect of this indebtedness, this State swindling, this usurpation by the States of powers not by them retained, or to their sphere appertaining, this encroachment on the Federal power. It will have to be paid, or assumed, or provided for, or wars with foreign nations will ensue, and if possible still further degradation and con-

tempt attach to the United States. It is sure to work its part in overturning this government if not covered, and stands among the numerous causes that conspire to put an end to the Union.

GENERAL SUFFRAGE.

Why has not general suffrage destroyed the confederation? This lowest level of political corruption, this universal suffrage, this rule of vagabondism, this rushing into the sanctum sanctorum of the temple of liberty by the Irish, Dutch and English with unclean hands, to pollute and deface every thing sacred to the cause of freedom, are sure to defile all, undo all, and dissolve all that is valued in this confederation, when the proper time shall come for the consummation of the drama. Several circumstances have conspired so far to postpone or prevent this work of destruction. I must again have recourse to the thin and sparse character of the population, who are so much scattered in woods, mountains, and over plains, that they do not form extensive combinations to go together for any political purpose. It is in the cities that the effects of general suffrage are most severely felt, where thousands are huddled together, all in a manner thrown out of available situations or profitable employments, and ready to understand one another and act together for effect. There their sympathies are concentrated as in a focus, and one impulse moves all to the same point. Feeling each other's strength, they wage war, interminable war, upon the wealthy, the intelligent and refined, and vote not only against them, but oppose every measure that the better informed advocate. They, from the nature of their

feelings and pursuits, and lack of education, support all low, mean and grovelling policies, and cause defeat to all the best laws and great purposes of the country. Mean and low in their feelings, they bring down the government to their own standard. Ignorant from birth and habit, they cannot judge of the wise and proper plans of improving the country. Rude and boorish in their manners, they deride and hate all that is elegant, and civilized, and tasteful. What is worse than all, they are poor and ready to take the bribes either of office, or patronage, or money, as offered, and sell the country for gain. All their prejudices against the rich, and the gentle, and the cultivated, are enlisted by the designing politicians and demagogues, and they arrayed against them at the polls. The party that stands nearest to them in the scale of meanness, and that is unprincipled enough to flatter them, and bribe them, is sure to have them on their side, and never fail to drill them in a way to aid them in carrying their points, and putting down the high and honorable that constitute the best hopes of the Union. In our cities, particularly New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Albany, and others, they already invest the ballot boxes and turn the scale of the elections in a way to show the ruin that is impending. In the nature of things can it be otherwise? Did not the democracy of the country let them into power hoping that they would act thus, and because they did believe that they would fulfil this dirty duty. There was no mistake in the thing; it was as firmly understood as if there had been an agreement signed and sealed, that they would vote with the democracy, and be tools of theirs

in putting down the best institutions of the United States, and giving a permanent support to that party. As we have said, the Jeffersonian democracy has unchained the beast, let loose the lion, and now find it necessary to feed him into quietness, as they cannot rechain him. This eternal cry of more food, give more, that this many-headed monster sends up, is rapidly exhausting the resources of the country, and sapping its substance, as well as extinguishing its honor, glory and prosperity. Suffrage is the revolution that never goes backwards; when conceded it goes ahead, and tramples down or overturns every thing. Just as cities grow up, or population condenses, will the effect of general suffrage be felt, and its ruinous consequences be realized. once our only salvation so far, and our only antidote against it consists in the thin and scattered nature of our population, so widely spread are they, that every fellow finds some thing to amuse him in the woods, some thing that connects him with the substance and worth of the country, and keeps him from forming those sympathies with congenial spirits that would combine against the land he lives in, and keeps him thus neutralized and divested of his active venom. Could England and France stand one year? could their governments exist one half year even, if all the idle, the vicious, the paupers, the menials, and drunken vagabonds without substance, were entitled to a vote? No person would pretend that they could. Spasms, revolutions and general destruction would attend the very first election under those circumstances, in those or such countries. A race bloated with vice, imbued in ignorance, enraged and rabid against all that was decent, orderly

and substantial in society,—against all that is honorable or elevated in the government,—against all that are rich, cultivated, learned, and refined in the land; would grin a delight at the very idea of pulling down every thing, dividing out and appropriating every thing in their reach. They would rush to the polls as a place and chance of glutting long cherished revenge, and Sampson like pull down the temple of liberty, although it fell upon their own heads. They were told, and made to believe, that the whigs, or federalists, were their enemies, aristocrats, unfriendly to liberty, and determined not only to oppress the poor, but make slaves of them in the end. It is with these prejudices, and with this bitterness in their hearts, and in the spirit of revenge, that they never fail to rush to the polls, and to a man vote against the party that their keepers oppose and array them against. None of the numerous causes of disunion can be more certain in its action eventually than this. It only awaits time and circumstance to do its work, and instead of union and confederation, produce perfect anarchy and confusion. It would be just as impossible to change and correct this now, as to do away the federative principle, or check the progress of State rights and State interferences. All true patriots have to look on with folded arms and resigned feelings, and see the work of destruction going on without the power to stay it a moment, or recall the terrible decree that let the lion loose, or opened the vial of wrath upon mankind. As well might we try to arrest the tornado in its course, stay the flood that is sweeping over the whole country, or turn away the thunder bolt from its destined mark, as to attempt to guide this new

and maddened power. There is a short-sightedness in the democratic party that has often overacted its part, struck beyond the mark, and produced results not intended and that were not anticipated.

SLAVERY.

Why has not slavery done the work of disunion long before this time? This blackest of all that is ruinous and threatening to this Union is very operative. It has taken such a strong hold of the interest of the one part of the country, and of the sympathy and humane feelings of the other part of this confederation, that the struggle is one of life and death. The grapple is an iron hand that never lets go its hold, that never relaxes, but seems to hold on with an increasing and convulsive energy. All other interests yield to it, all other feelings go for nothing in its way. In the estimation of the master, liberty, the long established right of petition, the sacredness of the mail, the safety of juror trials, all give way, or stand as minor considerations. The cry of the master is, give me my negro; touch not my slave; disturb not my nabob pride of mastery over these minions of my power; enter not my little kingdom, my plantation, where my will is law and obedience implicit. Is it to be at all wondered at, that at this day of light and humanity and general amelioration, that a large portion of the population should be against slavery? The wonder is, that all out of the baneful influence do not rise up against it, and if their voice and advice be not heard, set up for themselves, and separate from the infected districts. We have discussed slavery in a former chapter, and showed the certainty with which it was polluting

and destroying all that was pure and valuable in the country. We have regretted that the line of its prevalence was a geographical one, and plainly visible to all eyes. That the crossing of that line was a sort of Rubicon, that compromitted every thing. We regretted that slavery wore its mark and a color distinctly different from freedom. We regretted that even in freedom the mark remained, and was a badge of disgrace running for ever with the race. We are not only punished with all the evils of slavery, but seem destined to have an eternal memento of its former existence in the never fading color of its badge. Who will say that they are not ready and willing to mix in any commotion, any revolution, any wars, civil or foreign, that may betide us, and affect the result? Who will say that our numerical strength within the slave States is not diminished and weakened one half? Could the angels of heaven, Michael and his band, save a country from disgrace and misery thus populated, thus afflicted, thus marked? In regard to this our destiny is fixed; fate speaks the word, fate has spoken; the results, the evils, the ruin must follow the facts. We have not the means nor the inclination to lift again the curtain from Africa, whence they came, and where they seem to belong, and replant them there. The spirit of forbearance, the entailed character of the evil, the pride of the owners, the value of the products of their labor, all have conspired so far to bear with slavery, and postpone the time for its ruinous action. Whom God dooms to destruction he first makes mad, seems emphatically true in this case; witness the reckless course of the slave owners, the total want of calculation as to their safety or

the manner in which a separation of the States would affect them. They rather court than repel the idea of disunion; they seem to defy and invite the thunder that is rolling at a distance. One would naturally suppose that a population beset with dangers such as the slave holders, holding in their bosoms the enemy, where the pest is in their very bed rooms, their kneading troughs, their fountains of life, and looks on them asleep or awake, that they would use all the precautions the case was susceptible of, would not abuse and alienate from them their border brethren, who stand ready to save them from themselves, and snatch them and their little ones from the sanguinary ferocity a servile war must struggle in. We wish not your sympathy, cries the reckless slave holder to his free fellow citizens, we need not your assistance, and only ask you to leave us alone, and if preferred, to separate from us and mind your own business. Legislate not for us, advise us not, and hold no communications with the slave under penalty of our deepest vengeance and most summary retribution. As a proof that the American masters are the most energetic that ever existed, we need only look to the circumstances of the times. Who but the American has held on under all opposing feelings, under all the light of science, and a widely diffused intelligence, under all the force and action of liberal principles, under the abolitionists' efforts from the north, the south, the east and the west, and the awakening sympathies in his own bosom, to slavery? He has defied all, mocked all, and disregarded every admonition, and faltered not under any thing ominous or premonitory in its language. It is the distinction of

the rich southerner to own and count his slaves. This gratification serves him instead of titles, ribbons and garters, and gives to him as much consideration with his neighbors, and as much pleases his self-esteem. We would deem it a sad catastrophe were three millions of people, by any convulsion of nature, or any contagious pestilence, to be swept off and destroyed. The whole earth would ring with such a disaster, and mankind go into sackcloth and ashes. But here is a case even worse; three millions of human souls are a blank in creation, are worse than dead—they are slaves. Nothing distinguished, nothing intelligent, nothing patriotic or elevated appertains to them. They stand not only fixed and sunk, but lower and lower are they sinking in the scale of creation; no bright spot shows their features though in God's own image. All the light that shines illumines them not—all the ameliorations of society reach not them—no rational enjoyments embrace them—no law is enacted for them—no vote, no voice, no cry of joy issues from their dark and deep dungeons! Labor by day and often by night, the hot and broiling sun, the scathing rains, the chilling colds, are their portion, and the scourge ever ready, the brutal and ignominious punishment ever pending, and dread that harrows, or control that kills the soul ever over hanging. Banish ~~him~~ ^{them} all science, they know it not; extinguish all the rays of liberty, they shine only to bewilder and distress them; destroy all luxuries, they enjoy them not; or as Tantalus, look on and long for them out of or beyond their reach. They beget children for their master's use and behoof; marry only to promote a master's means, and what shows the lowness

and meanness of their condition is, that they are willing to propagate and take care of children to be abused as slaves. If the sun shines too hot for the master's indurance,—if the swamp is too filthy and sickly for the master's health,—if the fevers are too rife for the master's safety, and the victuals too mean and nauseating for the master's taste—in all these cases they are the lot of the negro, of the slave. The master often dresses them fine to please his own eye and gratify his brutal desires; selects and raises the most beautiful to fill his harem; and all his pamperings and indulgence towards them in some way for his own pride and gratification. What a pity that in this remote land, where liberty made her great effort, and remote from the influences of the aristocracy of Europe, free principles were imbodied into a constitution and confederated government, that slavery too entered in. — The sons of God were assembled, and Satan also came there. The very first footsteps of liberty on this continent, and in South America, were marked with the chains of slavery. The first offerings of all the clogs and duresses of free principles upon the great altar of liberty in the United States, were not acceptable to heaven, were not blessed by the hand of God, because the poor slave and his manacles were not among them. A curse worse than Cain's runs not only with the slaves, but the masters. A divine vengeance awaits the whole land, and the thunders of heaven will visit such wilful commitment.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FEARS FOR THE FUTURE.

We have now run over the causes of disunion, and have seen the strength and force of their tendency. We have, moreover, accounted for the delay that seems to attend, or has attended the fatal action of these very fruitful causes of disruption, and have showed the countervailing and ameliorating circumstances that have so far saved us from the destruction that awaits us. We now will end this small volume, by expressing our almost hopeless expectations, that the fatal event will be postponed long enough to produce any results, that will in any way contribute to the great cause of liberty and free institutions, or set forth to the world such an example as will in any very capital manner aid the cause of humanity, and vindicate man to himself and his fellow man. I fear, for the reasons abundantly detailed in this volume, that the experiment which the benevolent and philanthropic looked to for the advancement of human nature, and the exaltation of our species, has failed already, and is destined to fail still more signally, when all the angry, corrupt and deleterious elements shall have had their effect. The author of this very gloomy and unwilling statement of facts, as regards the confederated government of the United States of North America, fears that he is doomed to mourn over the wrecks of liberty in this new land. Should he close his mortal race before the catastrophe occurs, his children, or at most his grand children, will

see the curtain fall and the drama close, and have to take their chances in the confusion, and adhere to whatever fragment of the wreck floats near enough to be laid hold of. We might hope that new combinations would then be formed, and liberty still find a home, and a nucleus in the States, in the new world, if we did not feel and know that some of the most active elements of disunion will adhere to the veriest fragments, that of the federative principle more particularly, and this general suffrage, either of which is amply sufficient to destroy any government based upon them, or into which they or either of them enter, and form a prominent feature. The tempest will only change its field of action from a wide ocean to a small sea, and abate nothing of its rancour or violence. Party, when it becomes confined, and pent up within a small compass or space, is twice as fierce; and like the gossip of slander in a village, or the bitterness of party clans, much more mischievous and meddlesome than in a large area. The great forests of this new Continent, the wide and free expanse of Nature, have cherished all the love of liberty, and the free principles that our forefathers brought with them from Europe. It is, therefore, deeply to be regretted, that circumstances should have occurred or entered into the confederation so fatally ruinous to the cause, which entangle our best efforts, embarrass all of our best acts, and threaten such certain destruction to the very shrines of liberty. I will close this volume, by drawing a picture of what I think a good and safe government. Not Plato's Republic—nor More's Utopia—nor any abstract and ideal form which presupposes human perfection, and a perfect acquies-

cence in the prescribed rules and principles. I aim not thus to mislead and disappoint my readers, and be laughed at as a visionary or theorist. I will merely express my opinion of what would be the best shape of a government, consistently with the imperfections of man, allowing for party spirit, ambition, and the selfish feelings of our nature.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A SIMPLE GOVERNMENT.

My government should be a Republic—the Legislature Representative—the Executive for not less than a ten years term, and then not re-eligible—my Judges for life, and independent—my Electors should have a real estate property qualification—my salaries should be liberal—my punishments certain and severe enough to deter vice—my public virtues should all be rewarded by proper monuments and notices—my public servants, when growing old, be pensioned—my education be a National concern, and embracing all—my Religions all tolerated, and left to voluntary support—my National defences ample, without being too expensive—my Revenues from imposts as far as possible—my Manufacturing industry protected, up to national supply at least.—No slavery—no poor laws, beyond infirmaries. One National bank to aid the revenues, and be a National repository.—All the Internal Improvements possible. I would patronize the Arts—all mechanical inventions be rewarded, and secured to the inventors.—Museums of Natural history, of agricultural

improvements, and such branches as are useful, be got up and kept for inspection.—My intercourse with other nations honorable and courteous.—My naturalization laws insure that foreigners had become citizens in feeling, before they enjoyed the privileges of citizens.—My Territories should not exceed six to eight hundred miles square, nor embrace more than eight or ten degrees of latitude.—I would have as little constitution as possible, or the rules and dictations of such an instrument, and no confederation—no trial by jury. I will now very briefly run over these various desiderata of a good government, and give some reasons for each, in as few words as possible, and in the honest convictions of my heart.

REPUBLIC PREFERRED.

First, then, I would prefer a Republic to a limited Monarchy, a Despotism, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, or a Democracy. A republic is a simple unostentatious sort of a government, comports with simplicity in appearance; and moderation in expenses; yet admits of dignity in its intercourse with other nations, and may command the proper degree of respect at home and abroad. It hits on that happy medium, between the high pretensions of Monarchy, the overbearing extravagance of Aristocracy, and the low, intriguing, disreputable courses of the broad Democracy. A Despotism is a too bare-faced assumption of power over man; claims implicit obedience, to have a divine right, and is unlimited in its expenses, and uncontrollable in its whims and purposes. In this enlightened day, such a government is out of the question, and can exist only by the

strong power with which it is fastened upon a country. A limited monarchy is much more tolerable, and is more under the control of the people in some way, directly or indirectly. It is, however, very expensive, clogged by a privileged class, that are continually abusing and offending the honest public, and monopolizing all the offices at the expense of real merit. The people have to pay too much for this rare show, for this privilege, that takes from them the fruits of their labor, and cuts down their aspirations and ambitions. Unless a monarchy be accompanied with much show and expenditure, it becomes contemptible. A poor Nobility, a mean Aristocracy, are intolerable, and command no respect. The hereditary honors and distinctions running with a monarchy, and aristocracy, are contrary to nature, and shock human reason, and nothing but necessity can justify such exclusive privileges. The steadiness they impart to a government is problematical, and the support they give to it often in abuse of human rights. The great argument in favor of limited monarchy is, that a government thus constituted becomes a regular matter, and that there is a happy mixture of liberty and power, that avoids tyranny on the one hand and licentiousness on the other. A Republic may do this, if its executive be properly appointed, and save the violation of all the first principles of liberty, and that expensiveness that would oppress industry. Next to a well balanced republic, I would be the advocate of a limited monarchy, because it is the next best evil incident to political associations. The principles it compounds for, do in the shape of an equality of pretensions, reach the whole community, and do in

some remote way, become incitements to the ambition of all, because any citizen may be honored and distinguished, if his acts reach the public good.

There are, in England for instance, no hopeless and unpassable gulfs, between the classes of society. Merit, excellence, and distinguished virtue, have all to hope for; all the honors are open to them, and doubtless their ambition continually excited by them. The high salaries, the great expenditures, the monuments of distinction erected to merit and patriotism, the very weight of the national debt, all contribute to give stability to that government; all support, and strengthen the great arch upon which its fabric rests. I do contend, however, that we can accomplish the same objects in a republic, have the same permanency, and do even more good without this expense and exclusive privileges. We can more directly reward merit, and with as much certainty stimulate ambition. The patriotism will be purer, the principles of justice better carried out—neither reason nor nature be shocked, and all this without more than one tenth of the expense upon the industry of the nation. As to the aristocratic shape of governments, they seem to find favor with no party, and now to exist in scarcely any country on earth. The feuds and jealousies running with such an organization, become fierce and continual, and the public interests are lost sight of in the bitterness of feeling among the individuals composing it. Privilege and expense appertain to them, without any corresponding good imparted, or any steadiness derived from them to the body politic. Factionous nobles, or aristocrats, are worse than factionous demagogues, harder to quiet, and more uncompro-

missing in their very nature. Corruption flows into an aristocracy sooner, and bribery walks forth bolder, than in any other shape of government. All are right, therefore, in banishing such a power from the earth, and the rather leaning upon a monarchy or a despotism.

We now will pass this middle point, the republican form, and descend to that lowest level of human government, of political pretensions, called a democracy. Here, if we take it on its broad ground, we will encounter low meanness, corruption, bribery, intrigue, and many other feelings and interests equally unworthy, all mixed up into the daily bill of fare of such a government. The people enter into it in a mass, and by the general suffrage that it is based upon, it partakes of the ignorance and coarseness and the meanness also of the mass. Directly a war is waged upon knowledge and decency. The rich are put down as aristocrats, and the refined and cultivated as something different from and above the people. Without disinterested patriotism to prompt, honor to excite to great and glorious deeds, or enlightened, liberal views to embrace a great and national policy, it hobbles on in dirt and filth until it stinks in its own corruption, and through scenes of anarchy falls a prey to some daring demagogue who has been nursed by its hot bed of corruption, and who fastens his yoke upon the necks of the people. Democracy guarantees nothing, and does nothing to aid the cause of human liberty, but much to discredit it. Save us from the vulgarity, the low intrigues and turmoils of a democracy! If I am to be governed, let it be by some honorable, intelligent and decent forms. Let

not my person be insulted by the coarse, nor my character be bedaubed by the filthy, polluted politicians who work uppermost in such a government, nor my property be taxed, taken, or divided out on such principles as they without property propose. A democracy finds no favor in our mind, nor has it much in history to recommend it. I fall back, therefore, on my first love, a republic, and give it a preference. I must, however, guard this republic about, and not only make it decent, but preserve it so, if possible. The safeguards, then, of such a government, must be thought of and secured in every possible way.

REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE.

I would, of course, make my republic a representative one, and let the voice of the substantial citizens not only constitute it, but continually direct it. The only available principle in government is that of representation. This furnishes the only guarantees to liberty and property. A King, an Emperor, a Despot may be just, may be paternal, and do much good without let or hindrance. If the just and paternal individual, however, dies, and another succeeds of a very different character and disposition, having the power, may abuse it and oppress his subjects. Where then is the guaranty to secure, or the power to change, or the influence to stay his hand? Whip me the government that has no check but the will of the head, that state of things dependent upon one man's dictation. Passion and revenge may usurp the better feelings in such a case, and all that has been vouchsafed that was good and just be blown to the four winds, by the

storms of feelings incident to human nature. A representative from the people stands on a very different footing. These representatives will continually look to the people, their constituents, and regard their wishes and interests. If they betray or disregard these feelings or wishes, a next election changes them and puts in others more fresh from the people, and more certain to carry out their measures. It is through their representatives that the people make known their wants, establish such policies as have done good, and suggest new measures that cover new wants, and run with the changes incident to the circumstances of all countries. Who but the representative consults the wishes of the citizens, and has the singleness of purpose necessary to carry them into effect? In a limited monarchy that is the principle that redeems, ameliorates and secures. It is this that stands between the sovereign and the people, and puts in relief the measures necessary to their comfort. When the monarch on the sacred mount of popular power raises his arm for effect, it is the representative power, the popular feelings that support it. In a despotism, the whole distance between the autocrat and the people is a blank, an open space. He can reach his long arm of power down into the very vitals of his subjects, and nothing intervenes to arrest it. In a democracy, the popular demagogue, all bedaubed with the foul and filthy saliva of the people, steps forward claiming to speak in their voice, oppresses you in their name, and abuses your person or sacrifices your property and interests under the pretence of their authority. There is no escape from such oppressors, their name is legion,

and rise up before you and behind you to do the dirty work. It is not to be soothed, and differently from the stern Cerberus, who watches for another, it growls, bites and watches for itself and partizans. If you get through a residence in democracy unscathed, yet you feel defiled, degraded by the mean and unworthy. In a broad and boisterous democracy, let down to that lowest level where general suffrage tends, there can be nothing calculated to raise and ennoble human nature, but much to debase it, and familiarize it with meanness, low intrigue and dishonesty.

CONSTITUTION.

In constituting my republic, I would have as little of the babbling constitution as possible. That instrument should merely state, and that in unalterable and fixed terms, what the term of the executive and the legislators should be; what the qualification of voters are and must forever be; and what tenure the judges shall have. I would not state abstract principles of justice, or natural or international law, for they are all settled by the best writers, and courts do regard them as fixed. Constitutional expressions about *ex post facto* laws, *habeas corpus*, modes of trial, vested rights, and such things, become ambiguous in construction and lead to party feelings. I consider it very important to have terms and qualifications unchangeable and fixed forever. Then all hopes of the designing politicians become cut off, and the government goes on upon a regular basis. Expediency, and the interests of the nation will guide a legislature aright, when that legislature be constituted by the sub-

stantial voters of the country, and represent its substance.

No Confederation — I, of course, would not have my republic confederative, for the reasons we have given in the first chapters. Then I would save it from the operation of that selfish, nearest home feeling I have spoken of, which, growing out of human nature, would lead to endless conflicts and party spirit between the local and federal powers. I thus would save complexity, save expense, avoid conflicts, and give but one simple, well understood feeling of patriotism or nationality in the country.

Executive.—The executive of a republic should be elected for ten years, and then neither he nor his cabinet be re-eligible; be a native citizen; forty years of age, and own a real estate worth twenty thousand dollars. I think ten years a proper term, for it will give him time enough on the one hand to show his worth and carry out all his policies, and, on the other hand, avoid the imbecility of old age which a term for life might run into, and avoid the unnatural doctrine of hereditary right which would follow hereditary succession. This would also avoid the turmoil of frequent elections which a shorter term would lead to, with all the confusion and intrigue incident, and what is perhaps of more importance, avoid the management, the undue patronage, and looking forward to a re-election, that he or his minions would continually have in view if re-eligible. I would give him a liberal salary whilst in office, to enable him to support the dignity of the country, and discharge at his ease all his duties, and at the expiration of his time give him a proud

pension for his natural life, and all the privileges of the frank mail. He should have a veto on all laws passed as a matter of national concern.

One Chamber.—I would have but one chamber of representatives, with forms of deliberation and revision, by voting not less than three times, on as many different days. Two chambers lead to confusion, tend to encourage party, and destroy the beautiful simplicity I aim at. Any hasty, passionate, or rash vote taken, could be corrected or chastened by an executive veto.

Legislators.—My legislators or representatives should be thirty years old; natives; have a real estate of ten thousand dollars, and be elected for four years. In a term of that length they could carry out their measures, and still feel sufficiently dependent on their constituents to keep them identified with their interests. More frequent elections would lead to confusion, uncertainty, and intrigue in a more palpable shape.

Judges.—I would make the judges completely independent, elected for life by the representatives on a nomination by the executive, with good salaries. They should not only be the proper judges in all ordinary cases, but judges of the constitutionality of the laws, and of cases of impeachment of all officers, from the executive down—the executive to lay in the impeachment of all officers below himself, and the representatives of him when necessary. I would require the people to vote for the executive and representatives only, and all other officers to be appointed by the executive or the representatives or the judges, as the offices might affect the one or

the other departments, and not removable but by impeachment.

Incorporations.—I would make no incorporations with privileges, and no delegations of power to any guilds, or interests, or individuals, but of the most manifest necessity, to do great good, or to develop something national. Much of the embarrassing small operations of countries flow from the numerous incorporated companies of church or state or monied interests, or trifling towns with their bye-laws and ordinances that meet a person at all points, cheapen or degrade legislation, and encourage intrigue or oppression.

Suffrage.—Above all, I would fix, and that unalterably, the qualifications of voters. Each voter should be twenty-one years of age, a citizen, and should own in his own right not less than fifty acres of land, and should have owned it at least two years, unless inherited, or a town lot with a house upon it worth together not less than one hundred dollars. A list of voters should be annually made out on the above principles, and filed in the archives of each county or judicial district, to be continually inspected. I consider the elective franchise as the foundation of all that is excellent, all that is stable and conservative in a republic. If this ground be shaken at all, or at all liable to changes, down go the privileges of all classes, the rights of property, the security of persons, and all that is valuable or dignified and certain in the government, to that vile, low and dirty level where a general suffrage would soon sink all; where foul intrigue would revel, and a war be waged, through a propertyless rabble on all that is worth preserving.

This is really the conservative principle, the Palladium of liberty, the only guaranty known to the history of political institutions. If this foundation be disturbed the building falls, and all the rights, all the hopes, and all the expectations of the friends of man fall with it. Save me this guardian principle; hedge it around with all that can preserve and support! wear it in your hearts! fix it on your banners! and print it in golden letters in your constitution. The very first step towards a general suffrage puts all afloat; the second all is lost, all sunk.

Salaries.—I would give to all officers and legislators good salaries, ample to support them and render them independent, and when their term expired, particularly the executive and judges and foreign ambassadors, should be pensioned for life, as well as those who have been disabled in the service. This certainty of a salary and pension would offer incitements to a laudable ambition and lead to an independent action in all their duties.

NO JURY.

I would dispense with the trial by jury, for in all cases, in a republican or popular government, a jury only embarrasses. The jury are almost sure to be carried away by party, or popular excitement, and feel in all interesting and important cases with the one side or the other. They are scarcely ever in a mood or state of feeling calm enough to strike for justice or the public good. A jury, besides being prejudiced and often too much forestalled to do justice, are ignorant and cannot be made to understand the law, and not always the

facts. If inclined to act impartially, generally take the course that arbitrators or umpires are proverbial for doing—that of splitting the difference, and throwing a part of the loss or damages on each party; a language that justice rarely speaks in. The remark of the Thracian is strictly applicable to them: “for science and learning discuss, and ignorance and prejudice decide.” In a pure republic, established by and over an orderly people, the jury are nine times under excitement or bribed where the judge is once. The arraying a petit and grand jury is very troublesome, and very expensive, and a source of great delay. The jury must be paid, must leave their business, must contract dissipated habits, so that much is lost to an industrious community in time, in money and in morals. A judge could go through with a docket in one tenth of the time without, that he could with a jury. Delay in justice or the operation of courts is ruinous and demoralizing to a people. A population will never be punctual and regard their promises, unless the courts are prompt to enforce them. The uncertainty in the administration of the law and rendering justice prostrates a country worse than a pestilence. The decisions of a court thus dependent for a proper support are not only corrupt but uncertain, and nothing becomes fixed in law. No one knows how to count on what the law is or may become where a jury intervenes. Their verdicts are as variable as the weather, and create a painful uncertainty as well as the delay of law and justice. The court is ever laboring to correct the aberrations, or the illegal and one-sided verdicts of the jury, by new trials, or writs of error, occa-

sioning endless delay ; criminals, particularly state criminals, or such individuals as stand connected with party, as we have already seen, are invariably let off by jurors. The best laws in many of the states constituting this union are a dead letter, because the jurors will not act so as to effectuate their provisions, and hence the open violences so common, and the total disregard of the laws. The trial by jury was encouraged if not instituted in England to save the subject from the tyranny of the early kings, her Williams, her Henrys and her Edwards. It has continued in that country ever since, and been adopted in the United States as one of the sacred principles of liberty, and necessary to its preservation. Its operation, however, here, has been anything but a blessing—is one of the strongest ingredients in the confusion, uncertainty, and delay that prevail. With the circumstances, therefore, that made such a lame aid to the administration of justice necessary, I would say that where those change or do not exist it should be dispensed with. All the factitious aids, the false props, and lumber-some scaffoldings of the great temple of justice should be removed when the fabric is staunch and sound without them. One of the greatest errors and the most fatal to the cause of liberty, is the too great anxiety to guard it from all the dangers that befel it in the early days of its appearance in modern Europe. We destroy its simplicity by constitutional guards, trials by jury, and such things, foreign to its direct and free operation. To widen the foundation and give greater firmness, as they suppose, to the building, they have let in the general suffrage, which, instead of imparting strength, con-

verts all into a quagmire. Let us then, at last, have the courage to simplify the operations of free institutions, and place them on their own proper basis, without the clogs, the man-traps and useless guards that older and worse times rendered necessary. Let us recognize liberty when we meet her by the plain honesty of her features, her temple by the chasteness of its architecture, and her operations by the good fruit they produce. I regard the trial by jury, also, as a feudal institution, or rather an anti-feudal, as it was intended to counteract the undue influence of the great lords, and afford some shelter to the vassal or subject. Let it go, then, with the tyranny of early kings, the baronial oppressions, and feudal violences, to the tombs of the Capulets. We have no need of its chance medly assistance. I know that my views in reference to the trial by jury will be gainsayed and scouted by many who read these remarks. I shall be reminded that a judge may become corrupt. This is all possible, but very improbable in a country of independent judges, and the danger of bribery or bias is infinitely greater with the jury than with the judges. The admonitions of experience in the case are all on the side of dispensing with the jury. I would require the judges to be always ready in the court for the trial of any case that may occur, so that there be no delay, and all facilities given for immediate action. Such a prompt administration of justice would lead to a corresponding promptness and punctuality in the people in all cases, and a correct feeling and action would spring up in the community, and good order and good morals prevail. The designing and the wicked would no longer trust to the delays and

perversions of the courts, and naturally cease their habits.

PUNISHMENTS.

I would make my punishments certain, and severe enough to deter the vicious. They should not count either on escaping the penalties of the law, or delaying its action, or receiving at the worst nothing but a confinement that is rendered so comfortable as to scarcely amount to any punishment at all. I have shown in a preceding chapter the utter inefficiency of the penitentiary system of punishment. I therefore would punish with death such crimes as treason, rape, arson, murder, robbery, burglary, and even bribery, perjury and forgery, if repeated; and with severe imprisonment, fine, whipping, cropping, pillory, and hard labor with the ball and chain, all the other crimes, according to their grade or ameliorating circumstances. I would give no reprieve in any case, because the convict counts on it; so does the individual about to commit a crime. I would connect an active, quick police in all the cities or large towns with the courts, and not only pay them salaries, but extra rewards when the case warranted it. All of the officers of the court, as we have said, the judges, the sheriff, the clerk, the constables, the police, should be independent of all out door influences, of any calculations of interest or ambition, save as far as they run with the active duty they may perform.

REWARDS, MONUMENTS, AND INCITEMENTS.

A system of rewards and incitements to patriotism and a laudable ambition to serve their country

should be established. A monument or statue should be decreed to such as distinguish themselves either in the army, the navy, the arts, or any other signal way, and medals struck commemorative of the event. These things should be in a large national building connected with the seat of government. I would have, also, all the events of a high character represented in paintings finished by the best native artists, or foreign if the native were not sufficiently distinguished. And after any officer, civil or military, retired or became superannuated, I would make him comfortable by assigning to him a pension for life. All the public buildings of the republic should be grand, and got up in great taste, for they too are calculated to awaken a pride in the citizens. All such feelings tend to patriotism and love of country.

EDUCATION.

I would make education a national and a capital concern. The system should embrace both the primary and the higher schools and universities. All should be forced to educate their children under penalties; and as a further punishment, none should be allowed to vote, or hold any sort of office without the rudimental instruction, particularly reading and writing. A fund should be furnished for the primary schools in each district of four miles square, and the poor and the rich be required to send to the same school, in a way that the poor should not know and feel that they were poor and that their schooling was at the public expense. The school houses should in some way belong to the public, and in each the proper maps, a small library,

and some apparatus. The very common schools should be accompanied with rewards, or some distinctions for genius and signal acquirements. I would have a famous university in the centre of the government, endowed with all the professorships, a capital library, a signal apparatus, an observatory well supplied, a gallery of paintings, a museum of the arts and mechanical inventions, with all the models connected with the patent office. I would also have a cabinet of mineralogy, one of geology, one of chemistry, and all the museums and collections of natural history in all its branches, including fossil remains. I would also have an agricultural museum, or chamber where all the improvements in agriculture and horticulture, with their results, should be carefully collected and seen, and all improved implements of husbandry, and a noted botanical garden. In all these departments lectures should go on regularly and free of expense. I would then have a sufficient number of colleges, and preparatory academies, disposed in the districts so as to embrace all the population, with the proper appliances attached to them. A system, then, of rewards should run through the whole; genius and great talents should be marked in the primary schools, and sent up at the expense of the government to the colleges, and finally to the university. All the exercise connected with the schools and colleges should be of the athletic sort, with the proper preparations or gymnasia to aid it. Great results might be produced in a proper system of instruction and rewards, and all the talent, and even the ambition of the people in some way taken up, and not only stimulated, but secured to the public, and

made available for patriotism and national service. I would have, also, schools or rooms for military and naval instruction at the seat of government.

History gives us no instance, where the population have been educated to the best advantage, where all the talent and worth of a country has been made available, and all, no matter how obscure, brought forward into light and usefulness. To do all this, to have the system perfect, would cost a nation but a few millions annually, infinitely less than the useless wars they wage, or the worse than idle parade of royalty or aristocracy. Who that knows human nature, would not see and believe that one fourth of the money expended in the as best of monarchies, such a government for instance England, would not, if applied to education, rear into and light excellence the whole mass of the citizens? When will the world see and witness a case that would turn the millions that are wasted in wars and parade into channels of education, to raise up the country instead of depress it? In this day of universal experiment, of light and amelioration in a thousand things, well might such a system be entered upon, and the philanthropic, the benevolent, and patriotic, be induced to join their forces and means to produce such a result. This wide and fertile field, has been less cultivated by the hand of government or of individuals, than any other. We have seen all the arts develop themselves under the proper stimulus and patronage of the patriotic, and a small portion of the citizens become very learned in the physical, mathematical, and moral sciences, by the aid of their own exertions and such institutions as individual enterprize has founded.

It should not be taken for granted, however, that the mass must continue in ignorance and remain uncultivated. The portion of time all classes appropriate to amusements, that are in their natures frivolous, would make them all learned, and even scientific, if nightly lectures were within their reach, aided by the proper illustrations. What is better, and redeems this plan from the charge of not leaving time enough for exercise and relaxation, is, that lecture rooms are generally deeply engaging and amusing, and the search after specimens and the making experiments, would often lead them into the exercises of the open air, and be much more healthy than the sedentary amusements of gambling, theatres, and evening visitings. In England there are about one hundred million of money given, by private individuals and corporations, for education, in one shape or other, and for the want of some efficient system, this fund is annually wasted, or so expended as to do but little good, and reach but a very small portion of the mass of the people. It is either stationary, or the proceeds consumed by agents or trustees. In this country, Stephen Girard and others, have left millions for the same purpose, which are also wasted. Now, had these ample funds in the two countries been laid out in lecture rooms, furnished with the proper apparatus and books, and able men hired to deliver lectures on all the sciences, particularly the physical, and on the arts, it might have enlightened the great mass of the people, wherever dense enough to be collected; and it is in such places where there is the most need, and where the most good might be done. After the building, the library, and the apparatus, or the

specimens be prepared, one thousand dollars a year would extend lectures to as many thousand persons, and build up their minds. Just in proportion as a people become intelligent, do they rise in their own esteem, and are available for all the operations of the government. They would become not only a prouder race, but a purer, and rise above either doing or suffering meanness. Could we lift a nation above the low level of ignorance, and stand it on this proud platform, what might it not accomplish? —what could it not show and proclaim to the world? No less than the high and almost hopeless fact that man has found his proper station, and can govern himself in credit and renown.

RELIGIONS.

I would tolerate all religions, but favor none. We have seen, in a preceding chapter, how well a religion can take care of itself; how, by a thousand ties and motives, it lays hold of man, and enters with him into all the operations of society. We have seen how the religious vie with each other, and how ample the voluntary tax or contribution becomes. We have seen how churches arise, missionaries go forth, and very decent and very pious men in all abundance, fulfil the duties and become a credit to the country. We have seen the morals of the pastor more exemplary, and the communicants more devoted, than in countries where religion is supported by the strong arm of the government. The odium of an exclusive privilege of church and State connection, exists not, and deism and infidelity having nothing to rail at, are almost banished from the land. We have seen that even

the unbelievers are whipped in by a controlling public opinion, so that they have to pretend to religion, and lend it their support, or have their standing in society or their political aspirations affected unfavorably. We may, therefore, safely leave religion to its own action, since it thus takes care of itself, and the morals of the people. I would go so far as to separate all education from the dogmas of religion; neither bibles, nor creeds, nor catechisms, should be read or studied in schools, nor prayers and ceremonies of that kind be allowed.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

I would have all sorts of internal improvements, so as to give all facility to intercommunication, commerce, and mail arrangements. The nearer a nation becomes a unit in action, the more efficient will she be. The time taken up in imparting intelligence to the remote parts of a country, or in carrying defences and aid when attacked to those distant districts, is all lost to the nation. I would construct rail-roads, and common roads, canals, and harbors, in all proper places, and make bridges and depositories at all convenient points. If I could do this without toll, so much the better; if not, toll should be levied, rather than they remain unmade. Every thing then in agriculture, in commerce, in minerals, and manufactures, becomes active and available, and not only finds a value, but a market. There is more of the creative resources in internal improvements, than any other operation of the country. Thousands of things, and raw materials, and even cultivated and fabricated articles, are

thus developed and brought into market, and infinitely swell the resources of the nation. Read over the catalogues of productions that reach our market, and become valuable along the line of some great work of this sort, and it would astonish those who never thought about it. Another benefit, and that no small one, flowing from internal improvements, is, the pride we feel in them, and the patriotism they generate and cherish. We are vain of a country that shows the practicability of such a system, and love to belong to it. All these things, internal improvements, national monuments, great schools, universities, libraries, collections of nature and art, inspire proud sentiments and strengthen our patriotism. A perfect amalgamation takes place in a country connected by rapid lines of communication. The sympathies of all the parts are active towards each other, and their interests become identified. Had the government of the United States of North America, entered on an extended plan of internal improvements, it would have done much to keep alive the Federal power, and put in check all the State right doctrines and party spirit growing out of them. The National feeling would have overcome and smothered the local, that now is swallowing it up. Sentiments of national patriotism would have been awakened, and instead of boasting that we are citizens of New York or Virginia, or some other State, we would have felt the honor and importance of being of the nation, and in supporting the confederation and Union. Easy and quick communication, not only create all these resources and promote all these fine feelings, but carry the mail in the rapid and certain way with its load of

information, and gives distribution to its contents. The great Lancastrian school, the press, is then doing its work, and heralds its monitorial lessons and information from hand to hand, until all hear and all know what is going on in the great world. In a government thus constituted and enlightened, and connected by this sort of rapid communication, there never could spring up different dialects in language, different costumes, and fashions in dress, a difference of feelings and interest, distinct enough to be marked or excite antipathy. Have you minerals, coal, and iron?—these lines of improvement carry them to all parts, and apply them to all uses. Does cotton grow in one place? tobacco in another? grain in a third? and wine in a fourth? and a thousand articles, great and small, in their respective climates and soils?—these lines interchange them all, diffuse them all where wanted. Have you poor districts that need manure, lime, guano, gypsum, and many others?—these lines carry it, and equalize all. Does one part suffer by a drought, or a tornado, or a gale, or a blight, or a frost, or insects?—these lines carry the supply and abundance from the other districts, and supply the wants. There can be no famine, no permanent or long suffering, in a country of varied climate, and elevation, and culture, thus connected. All find an equilibrium, all are comfortable in the endless interchanges that go on. With this easy and rapid distribution, a nation may manufacture at one or two points, if all the materials and labor suit, for the whole nation, and with small expense diffuse them to all who consume. Before these times of rapid intercommunication and extended sympathy, when mud, rivers,

and mountains, or arms of the sea, or lakes, separated people, every district was in a manner independent of the other, originated different habits, wore different costumes, spoke different dialects, and thought and acted as differently as if they had belonged to different nations. It required the strong arm of a government, and much time and expense, to bring the scattered parts together, and then perhaps an interpreter was necessary to their intercourse. Instead of sympathy, one district was taught to laugh at or hate the other, and all that was refined, tasteful, and cultivated, was in the large cities. Now all is property in common, and will be so more and more every year, just in proportion as these facilities are got up and consummated. What patriot, what philosopher, what philanthropist does not rejoice to see this happy blending of man with his brother man? This resolving of all the wants, all the interests, and the luxuries, into one great store-house, whence all may draw their parts? This harmonizing of feelings and interchange of thoughts, of mind, whence all add new information to their stock, and duplicate the force of the human intellect. A foundation, a rudimental education, is all that is wanting to give all possible efficiency to this interchange, and enable all to profit by it. It appears to me, that instead of man being enlisted and infuriated against his fellow man, by this rapid intercourse, he is destined to change all his feelings, and stand himself on more elevated, more liberal, and prouder ground. That he is destined to calculate his own destinies, and appreciate his own interest, in a way to enable him to set a value on liberty, on war, and on every relation he stands in to

society and his government, and shape his conduct accordingly. If government neglects education, still this rapid intercourse becomes their great school, and will in spite of all the wants of other facilities, teach and enlighten the world. Light will shine upon the darkest and most benighted districts; will penetrate the veriest hovels, stir up some thing within the human heart, and urge to higher thoughts and higher action. Man, encountering his fellow man in the rapid lines of travel, will mutually edify each other, and exchanging under such circumstances, instead of taking and giving, is all in a manner receiving, for we retain our own ideas, even after we have imparted them to another. In this trade, gain and loss are not co-relative, for it is all gain and no loss.

MANUFACTURES.

I would encourage all manufactures up to the whole wants or consumption of the country, and that in good qualities, good tastes, and in abundance. A republic should as soon as possible scan its own resources in reference to raw materials, minerals, iron, coal, copper, lead, zinc, water power, and communications, and develope all and put all into available use. This supplying its own wants is certain to render a nation proud and independent, and turn the balances of trade and commerce in her favor. To see a people comfortably clad, luxuriating in their own fabrics and productions, and every where exhibiting taste, is a charming picture. If manufacturers work for the home market only, they never become too numerous, and the victims of a reverse in trade. They feel secure of their market, and are

a tasteful and rather a cultivated race within that extent. A nation could easily stop the operation at the supply point by laying on export duty on such as sought a foreign market. The comfort, the quality, and the taste of the goods, and the independence of a country, are of much more consideration than the little more or less price of the articles. Where a foreign supply is shut out, the price, even if for a while higher, is made up by the reciprocity that goes on at home, and in the rounds is not felt at all, for the agriculturalists meet the price with a corresponding one on their productions, and thus equalize and balance it. A manufacturing population if not stimulated beyond the home supply, never reach the point of poverty and distress witnessed in England among the operatives in the manufacturing districts. The condensation of people in manufacturing villages, favors the application to them of the Lancastrian-monitorial system of education for the young, and lectures to be conducted by night for the grown. Where the fine and fancy manufactures are carried on to taste and elegance in a country, that country is more civilized and refined in its taste, and more susceptible of the finer feelings and cultivation. The making of the luxuries of life is not only associated with the cultivated districts and cities by the circumstance of supply and consumption, but the more extensive one of mutually imparting taste and refinement to each other. You will never go to the rude and boorish parts of a country for fine articles, because the rough touch of such people would spoil and deface many of them. The elegance we impart to furniture, and goods, and fancy or showy articles, must first exist

in the people who get them up or fabricate them. We see a taste for flowers, gardening and architecture extend and radiate from cities and proper points to the neighboring districts: so it is with the taste and elegance bestowed upon manufactures, they extend in circles around them like the ripples in the waves when a point be agitated. Manufactures, therefore, should be encouraged not only for the reasons first named, but to impart taste, elegance and civilization to the population around them.

COMMERCE.

I would encourage commerce and trade also, and give to them the proper protection as far as tonnage duties, port charges, facility of intercommunication with the interior of the country, and such counter-vailing regulations as are necessary to stand them on equal or even better ground than foreigners stand upon. I would place no license tax on commerce after it has reached the country, but allow a retail of it on the freest principles. I would favor and encourage ship building and sailors, and consider that it was fostering the very best defence and resources of the nation. I would trade altogether in my own bottoms as far as native productions were concerned.

ARMY AND DEFENCES.

I would make the defences of the Republic ample. The army should be sufficiently numerous and so distributed as to furnish aid at all points in a quick and rapid way, to keep order, enforce the laws, and meet a foreign enemy. They should be so constituted as to be objects of ambition to the

young and aspiring, and enter into our feelings of nationality and patriotism. The fortifications, armories, magazines, arsenals, and depots of military stores should be abundant and always ready for use. The military should pay great respect and deference to the laws in all cases, and rather set an example of obedience to the people than offend them by an arrogant manner. I would connect a local police with them in the large cities, who should do the worming out of disorder and vice, and call on the military to aid them in breaking up nests of lawless villains wherever found. This police should have power to penetrate private houses if necessary in search of rascals, and take note of every person who arrives and departs. They should be required to enquire into the means of support that any or all persons of a doubtful or suspicious appearance have to depend upon, and oblige them to make an exhibit of them.

LICENSES TO SELL LIQUORS.

I would in my Republic, refuse all licenses to sell liquors by retail, and not allow shops and bar rooms to be opened for that purpose. This array of bottles filled with rosy and sparkling liquids, should be banished entirely from view, and the sights of good and virtuous citizens be no longer offended by this vile show of the temptations to vice. Wine may be drank, and even ale, without this disgraceful exhibition. Intemperance in England and America goes farther to corrupt and brutalize the population than all the acts of even a tyrannical government. Most of the disorders of society, most of the vices, and nearly all of the violences that fill

the newspapers, have their origin in the bar rooms and ale or gin shops. If you witness a duel and enquire the cause, ten to one but it originated in some heated expression under the excitement of liquor, in some dirty tavern or bar room. If you witness a street fight, a Bowie knife rencontre, or a fight of any kind, it is sure to be traceable to a drinking scene. Do you see a confirmed gambler, or robber or forger? You may set it down that the first dawn of it began at such places, and either in the cups or in the desperate feelings that wasting one's substance and time in drinking superinduced. Most of the paupers and reduced or distressed families date from the same sort of scenes and habits. When a nation witnesses all these ruinous consequences referable directly to drinking and intemperance, who will not say that it is not the duty of such, or any government to forbid licenses, and of course such scenes and vices? A new era would commence under such exclusion, that would stamp upon the nation more sterling worth, better habits, more comforts and independence than the world ever before witnessed. The pitiful argument in favor of licenses to sell liquor, that goes to say that it is right to tax a vice, is unworthy of any politician. How much better to banish a vice itself, and remove the very cause and foundation of it? A broader argument is met, and is very common among politicians who do not consider the whole ground, that applies to many other things besides licenses to sell spirits. I mean the idea that it would be an abridgement of or a restriction of a man's liberty to forbid him to sell liquor, and drink it if he chooses. Whip me that sort of liberty, and those free principles

that the Irish frequently complain about when restricted in the exercise of them: I mean that of doing just what one pleases, buying and selling where and what he pleases, and all that would constitute licentiousness and lead to immorality. The world wishes to see a sober nation, and of course would at the same time see a virtuous and orderly one, and, I will add, a comfortable one. The vine culture and wine making should be encouraged as furnishing a rich agricultural resource, and at the same time give a wholesome, cheerful drink, that never runs into vicious habits or violences.

REVENUE.

I would have an ample revenue, but nothing more than wanted annually; and as the easiest method of collecting it, would derive it as far as practicable from imposts. If, owing to manufacturing our own supplies, the revenue coming from imposts be deficient, I would make it up by a moderate land tax, and a small capitation assessment, neither of which to be at all oppressive. An excise or a duty on consumption is always vexatious, and leads to a discontented popular feeling. Certain articles and luxuries that are in all countries imported, and cannot be produced at home, are legitimate objects of a high impost duty, and much, I will say, any deficiency could be thence derived in all well regulated and comparatively rich countries.

FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.

I would conduct my intercourse with foreign nations on liberal and honorable principles. Justice should forever be the basis of all treaties, and the

observance of them scrupulous; and the salaries of my ambassadors should enable them to hold up among the members of the corps diplomatic. I would have a uniform dress for not only the army and navy and the foreign ministers, but the judges, lawyers, sheriffs, and all that conduct the administration of justice, and the police. A livery of government always appears respectable in the sight of the mass of the people, and carries with it a terror and earnestness that forbids that too much intimacy and familiarity, that would divest office of its dignity and proper respect. It lets down mightily to see a judge or sheriff mixing in a court room with the people without any badge of office. On the contrary, the cloth, or livery, or badge that marks authority, are a distinctive consideration with the people, and in some way promote order and virtue. Because a government is a republic, or a representative one, there is no reason it should be divested of outward badges, or signs of authority in its officers. Respect and show are, perhaps, of more importance to such a government than one of more power and show, and dignity as much becoming, based as it is upon popular appointment, as if the power was derived hereditarily. The same idea of respect and outward show should run with all the public feelings, and all the institutions of a political nature.

NATURALIZATION.

I would in my naturalization laws insure that the foreigner, besides having the property qualifications, should be long enough a resident to feel as a citizen, and be identified and familiar with all the laws and

institutions of the country. He should forget in a manner the country he emigrated from, and have all the prejudices connected with his change softened down; a thing which time alone can effect. When we have built up a country, and at great expense, perhaps of a revolution costing much treasure and blood, and established all its interests on a fair and proper footing, why should all be jeopardized by letting in strangers unknown to the said government, unacquainted with its laws, and often full of prejudices against it, to a full and equal participation in its benefits and blessings? I would require all foreigners to come as manufacturers or agriculturalists, never as merchants or traders, until after full naturalization. How often have we seen the foreign merchant profiting by our commerce, abusing all around him, and without any character established, ready to defraud all with whom he holds intercourse? I contend that not only patriotism is exclusive, but all the protective benefits, profits and honors should also exclusively appertain to natives or regular citizens in all countries.

CURRENCY.

I would place my currency on the general pure metallic standard, which should be a fixed one, and become known to all foreign intercourse. No changes, no adulterations should take place—no individual should issue paper, or tokens, or any thing intended for circulation, because experience proves that such a habit is sure to lead to abuse, and aid much in producing the crises that so often occur in the commercial world. If I allowed a government bank, it would be more as a depository for the

fiscal operations of the government, than for individual benefit. What business it did, should be in large bills of five hundred dollars and upwards, and for exchange between the different parts of the republic. The currency can never become much inflated, or crimped down, when its basis be gold and silver. The precious metals require time to ebb and flow; the accumulation of them is a slow process, and the loss or abstraction of them, correspondingly slow, or at least it would be too slow to produce much spasm in either of the departments of industry, agriculture, manufactures or commerce.

When a country is flooded with paper, either bank or individual, and a crisis threatens, a double operation is actively going on, and cannot fail to produce a rapid depletion, even to syncope; I mean that the banks begin to curtail and call in their circulation, and the specie travelling abroad to keep up the equilibrium, a rapid exhaustion is the consequence, and all sorts of distress. A great branch of political economy, is engaged in regulating the currency, and placing it upon the right footing. A good statesman and financier, will watch it with a patriot's eye, and so base it as to be subject to as few sudden changes as possible. Time, we are told, is the best regulator of this thing, but sometimes it takes too long a time to do it, and the country suffers in the mean time. Preventive remedies are the best in such a case, and not only preserve the State healthy, and in good condition, but impart to it a constitution and ability to meet emergencies and exposures, and stand the shocks that it may encounter. I would base any bank put

into operation, pretty much on the treasury deposits, and if individuals were in it at all, it would be to act through them a management running with the interest.

MAILS.

I would regulate the mail, or post-office, in such a way as to give it all possible despatch and certainty. It should have the confidence of all, and be hailed as a blessing by the whole nation. I would not clog it with useless matter, or matter that could almost as well seek other channels of transmission. I would not allow tracts, or books, to take it up, and weigh it down, nor the unlimited interchanges that go on between newspaper editors, nor should the franking privilege be lavished on all the demagogues of the country that happen to hold office. It should go light, and filled with the most interesting matter. I would take a low rate, and receive it when the matter was put in or deposited. This plan would exclude much of the lumbering, useless matter, from the mails, and leave it open to what concerns society and commerce. All roads necessary to it, and bridges, and such facilities, should be built at the public expense, and regularly kept up. Punishments for any dereliction, or robbery, should be certain and severe, and heavy forfeitures accompany its failures. The arrival of the mail, in a regular way, is certainly of national concern, and nothing damps a reading and mercantile community so much as its failures. It seems hard to secure a real patriotic feeling in countries where the mail is uncertain, the mail is not to be counted upon, and frequent disappointments provoke. I

would regulate the Press so as to insure its decency. It is a delicate field to enter upon, but it is due to every country, and the character of its government, to cut off by the proper punishments, that black-guard ribaldry that lets down a country, not only in foreign opinion, but its own estimation. The courts sitting in their decency, not balked by a jury, often of blackguards, would punish the licentiousness of the press in a way to divest it of slanderous slang, without at all impairing its usefulness. I would allow the truth to be given in evidence, in all cases, whether the government or individuals were concerned. All slander and unjust abuse of the government, or of individuals, ought to be promptly punished by fine, if responsible; or imprisonment, if without responsibility. A decent respectable press, goes further to build up a country into respectability, than any other circumstance. Place all the presses that naturally spring up in a free country, upon a high, and honorable, and respectable level, and they become the instructors and monitors of the nation. They stand on the watch-towers, and give warning of all danger, and of all that is wrong and injurious in its tendency. The best measures of the government, the best policy of the nation, the best and most permanent prosperity of the country, are discussed and pointed out by presses of high feelings, and sterling, patriotic character, as well as the delinquencies and mal-administration of the officers, and those in charge of public affairs. Much useful information, much that is of a scientific character, much that discovers and suggests, naturally appertain to a proper condition of the press. All edifying comparisons of our own with foreign na-

tions; of our own resources with theirs; of our manners and institutions with others; of the modes in which things are done and conducted in our own and other lands, and of the fashions, arts, morals and vices of the two, are set forth. The press, rightly conducted, on a respectable foundation, and in full patronage and operation, becomes a great monitorial school for the citizens, and in a manner instructs all. Give us but confidence in its remarks, and a trust to its high patriotic and truthful revelations, and all will go right; the nation becomes wiser, more vigilant, and better informed on all subjects. In those countries where editors are punished for libels, the press becomes more elevated and useful in its dictations and suggestions, and stands itself on a high level of respectability and authority. What can be fouler or more abominable than to see a press put into operation by party expressly paid to lie and slander, and its editor gathered up on the principle that an assassin is sought for. This deliberate, before hand bargain and pay, to abuse, villify, and bring down all that is excellent in the nation, or pure and patriotic in individuals, is of all corruption the vilest, and can partake of nothing but assassination and bribery. A country that lets such presses run unpunished, is too low, or too mean to be valued and loved; and if it have, by chance, any character left, it is sure to be compromised by such a course. Let a nation, therefore, step forward at once and arrest the evil, before it contaminates all, and sinks all, to its own filthy and dirty level. It is due to its character, to its very existence, to do this. A country that admits the very absurd, degrading doctrine, that it

would interfere with liberty, or the rights of a free person, to punish him for lying and slandering, must value its own character but little, and have a strange notion of liberty.

I would have no slaves, of course, in my republic; I would save the country from such a horrid and degrading picture of humanity, and look upon none but free men. This animal in a human shape called a slave, would continually reflect upon all the institutions of the country, and remind the whole world that it lied, when it pronounced itself a free government and a perfect rule of liberty. This deformity, this animal in a human shape, would scandalize all the acts of any country pretending to liberty, and contradict its best efforts to redeem the disgrace. The numberless evil consequences of slavery, and the natural injustice and impolicy of it, we have discussed in a former chapter. Here I would merely say, let it be scouted from any regular republic—let it not stain the virgin purity of any new government, springing into existence on the basis of liberty. It never can comport with freedom. It never can fail to bring down the character of all political institutions, and put in mockery any attempt that would go to build up a model of a government with the monster in its bosom.

POOR RATES.

I would have no poor laws, no public provision for the paupers. We have already expressed a thorough conviction that poor rates produce and perpetuate paupers. As soon as a class of society naturally low spirited and mean, find that they can

live without work in comfortable quarters, they will cease all labor, and lean on it. The industrious then are taxed to support these poor and worthless persons; they become an excrescence, a burthen upon the worth and substance of the land, and like a moth eat into the most valuable stores. I would, on the credit of the ablest writers on political economy, and on daily experience, say, that poor rates create poor, and tend to destroy that portion of the community that thus depend. The naturally lazy, without pride to stir up their available industry, require some strong necessity to act upon them, to place them in comfort and give them a support. Nothing but want and suffering will accomplish this, and draw from them an industry that would earn them bread. Take from them this only good, and they become this worthless burthen. As soon as a man loses all pride and self-esteem, or self-respect, and reconciles it to his conscience to beg, he had better be dead. The community (humanity aside) would be greatly gainers by destroying from the face of the earth such pestiferous vermin. Nothing short of extermination can accomplish anything in their case; for it costs more to put them to work and keep them at it, so as to be the least available, than they can ever be made to earn. After all the effect of poor houses, poor farms, or work houses, nothing has been done to reform or correct them in the remotest degree. Once a pauper, always a pauper, is proverbial with all who have to do with them. Nothing ever raises them from their fallen and utterly mean estate to which they are sunk, up to citizenship again. There is no balm in Gilead for such a disease; no remedy from Lycurgus up to the

present day. If they be turned out to beg, it disgraces the country still more, and drags down all order and respect. One of the worst features of pauperism is, that it takes from its votaries all the providences and care necessary to the comfort of man. If such persons chance to get money or means, they spend it and frolic upon it until all be gone, knowing that they can have this poor rates to trust to. All the petty vices and dissipations run with it, and are pampered by it. No nation ought ever to look upon an object mean enough to beg, if possible to prevent it. I would merely, then, have infirmaries for the sick and infirm, but nothing, no refuge for the healthy, able-bodied person. Better to let a few die in the street by way of a lesson, than to saddle the whole country indefinitely with them.

CHAPTER FINAL.

I have now given my views of the government of the United States of North America, without reserve, and in strong language. I am prepared to hear a difference of opinion expressed by those who have some interest in the country, and to have these statements and facts contradicted, and myself denounced as either morbid, or in the interest of the aristocracy of Europe. The portion of the preceding chapters setting forth my opinions are the true and unwilling convictions of my soul. As to the facts and cases herein stated, and referred to, I have abundance of proof to all of them, or the substance of them. The reason public acts

and documents and even history were not quoted by line and page was, that the detail would have swelled this volume beyond the size intended, and made it a cumbersome book. If any honest, well intentioned readers will take interest enough in it to wish to have the proper references and proofs, such can have them abundantly, and a thousand more instances could be given than here set forth. I know the democrats who are battenning on this confederation will gainsay these conclusions, and try to make the thing appear better ; it is their part to deceive and cover up their own dirty work. The real patriots and well-wishers to this union will, alas! think too much with me. A highly respectable class of readers in Europe, friends to free governments, the liberal in politics, the benevolent in wishes and high in hopes of success here, will be grievously disappointed, and try to believe this account a prejudiced one. I regret the disappointment this respectable class will encounter, and the dash their best hopes of man are destined to receive. I fear the aristocrats of Europe will find too much in this account to cherish their hostility to free institutions, and to gratify their selfish inclinations. All who from interest or morbid feelings have prophesied unfavorably to the success of this government, will derive consolation from this sketch. Let us not despair, however, of the cause of liberty and free institutions. All the rocks and shoals that the ship fraught with the liberties of man, and their best hopes, has split upon, are now visible, and can be avoided. The colonial circumstances under which this cradle of young liberty was nursed, were very unfavorable, and in spite of the

experience of the world and the better views of many, forced a confederative government, and an array of organized sovereignties was in the way of any consolidated shape of power. The friends of man had to plant the tree of western liberty in this soil, however unfit and likely to be upturned by earthquakes whose threatenings were even then apparent, or embark upon a sea that the distant storms were sure to disturb. Alas, for the cause of free institutions ! things and circumstances all over the world are unfavorable to their sure and firm growth. If you disturb the old monarchies of Europe, and aim to substitute in their place a free government, the remains of monarchy and aristocracy are always hovering over it, and ready to pounce upon it with all the aids that the whole aristocracy of that continent can bring to bear upon it. The mass of the people have become so debased and brutalized by the previous action of the old governments, that they are found unfit, both in spirit and intelligence to aid the new and receive therefrom all the benefits intended, or lend thereto all the aid required. If you travel to the East, among the slaves of Asia, with a view of establishing freedom, you give it up in despair when you see the degradation so deep and so unchangeable. You come to the new continent, intending to plant your liberty in a virgin soil, and hide its shrines in the woods remote from monied or aristocratic influence, and there you find colonial nucleuses that force you into confederation, or oblige you to make your country too small for self protection, too contemptible for much result. Alas, the whole ground

acts as tend to the ruin of a country, ought to be repeated often enough to be heard by all, and attended to by all, and understood by those concerned. Repetition is also in lieu of emphasis, or in the nature of a stress laid upon any event or any danger. If, then, by repeating the coming evils from the watch tower of my country I shall have called the attention of my countrymen and fellow citizens to the pending storm, I shall feel happy, and amply compensated for my trouble.

THE END.

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